

THE GUARDIAN

WEEKLY

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Howe hoping to persuade Botha

IGNORING the findings of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group that Pretoria is in no mood to negotiate, Sir Geoffrey Howe is going to South Africa to try to establish a framework for dialogue between blacks and whites to end apartheid. The Labour spokesman, Mr Denis Healey, forecast that the British Foreign Secretary would return "waving a scrap of paper and proclaiming peace in our time". At Mrs Thatcher's insistence the EEC summit refused to call for sanctions against South Africa. In Britain, Gallup poll showed 62 per cent of people believed the Prime Minister supported the whites, whereas virtually the same percentage said they supported the blacks.

Europe ducks the issue

APARTHEID'S capacity to divide and rule now constantly extends itself beyond South Africa to dominate and disrupt international forums which ought to be united against it. The latest victim of this diplomatic malaise is the European Community summit in The Hague which came to such an ignominious end last week. Apartheid itself is not to blame, but rather those shielding it on the grounds of short-term self-interest, and those who, like the French, conceal their concurrence by letting others occupy centre-stage. In The Hague the anti-sanctions lobby consisted of Mrs Thatcher, backed by the West Germans and the Portuguese (who have a large national minority in South Africa). It is of course no coincidence that those with the biggest financial stake in South Africa — Britain, America, Germany — and the most lucrative trade with it — Germany, America, Britain — are most reluctant to impose sanctions. Each has a conservative government dependent on business support and is thus serving the vested interests of its most important political constituency. Each leader may believe that she or he will not be in office when the wind of change completes its work in Africa and blows apartheid away. Facing the likely bitterness of an eventual black government at the Cape will be a task for others.

So it's no sanctions now but perhaps a few expediently disguised as righteous intransigence. British trade with the rest of Africa is greater than with South Africa, and black frey Howe in his capacity (from this week as President of the European Council of Ministers. Sir Geoffrey's ability to get the most out of unfavourable circumstances — not to be underestimated (see Hong Kong and Gibraltar), but he has at least two handicaps this time. He no longer believes in his leader's policy of perpetual procrastination.

nation and Botha's rejection of mediation by the Commonwealth Eminent Persons' Group was an unmistakable signal that he has turned his back on negotiation with the black majority. The one probably derives from the other. If Botha does not embrace the African National Congress before the deadline set by the Twelve, they will shut only if their ensuing consultations lead to complete agreement: ban new investment and imports of coal, steel and gold coins. The first has long since ceased under the influence of market forces and sheer common sense, and the rest are items of which the community already has an embarrassment of riches.

But that the Community has opted out, the sanctions debate moves on to the mini-summit of Commonwealth leaders in London in four weeks, where action on the EPC report calling for "measures" to forestall a racist holocaust will be considered. Although this is likely to be a much livelier air in the light of threats to walk out and pose sanctions on Britain, the fatal flaw in the arrangements is the same as revealed at The Hague: the Commonwealth, like the Community and the UN Security Council where Britain has a veto, operates on the principle of unanimity, which plays into the hands of Mrs Thatcher as the world's leading practitioner of expediency disguised as righteous intransigence. British trade with the rest of Africa is greater than with South Africa, and black frey Howe in his capacity (from this week as President of the European Council of Ministers. Sir Geoffrey's ability to get the most out of unfavourable circumstances — not to be underestimated (see Hong Kong and Gibraltar), but he has at least two handicaps this time. He no longer believes in his leader's policy of perpetual procrastination.

Reports, pages 6 and 7



Congress for the Contras

PRESIDENT REAGAN, the great manipulator, has done it again. In spite of persistent majorities in the opinion polls against the arming of the Nicaraguan contras, he has persuaded more than half the United States Congress to go along with the plan. Perhaps it would have been different if Western European governments which disagree with his Central American policy had been less timid in declaring their views publicly. The feeling that Central America is the United States' backyard, in which it must be allowed to do what it likes, dies hard in the corridors of Whitehall, the Quai d'Orsay, and the Auswärtiges Amt. Chancellor Kohl, at least, might have said something since it is only two weeks since twelve West Germans, kidnapped by the "contras", were finally released. (Had twelve Americans been held hostage by guerrillas organised, financed, and armed by West Germany, one can imagine the cries of "terrorism" which would have resounded from Washington.)

Perhaps protests from Europe would not have worked anyway. The mood in which the Congress and the President view Central America is now irredeemably sullied with the perceived need to stand tall against Communism, particularly Communism of the invisible variety, since that is the most dangerous kind. The less that other people seem to see the danger, the firmer and quicker the lone trigger-finger must be.

By arming the contras the Congress has effectively declared war on Nicaragua. One of the smallest stages on the continent is now under mortal threat from the largest. More young Nicaraguans will now be killed.

Its economy will be further ravaged, and the pathetically low standard of living of its people will be reduced. At the diplomatic level, the Congressional vote will snuff out the last flickering signs of life in the Contadora negotiations.

Nicaragua is in no way a threat to the United States. It has held elections which were freer of violence and less spoiled by intimidation, and which offered a wider range of ideological choices than most elections in the region. It has pledged not to accept foreign bases, either for nuclear or conventional weapons, on its territory, and has offered to sign a treaty with the United States to that effect. Its only danger to Washington is that it sets an example of independence which has been lacking for decades in the Central American isthmus.

The definition of independence is that countries be able to choose forms of government which their neighbours object to. That is the fundamental principle which a majority in Congress has been unable or unwilling to understand or accept. Looked at in this light, it is hardly surprising that Mr Reagan was able to win his money for the contras. Most Congressmen have opposed him on pragmatic grounds. Will aid to the contras drive the Sandinistas into Moscow's arms? Is it the best way to put pressure on Managua? Should economic sanctions be allowed more time to take effect? Will American troops eventually be sucked in? Few Congressmen have dared to take a stand on the basic issue of whether the United States has the right to interfere in a far away country's internal affairs. Few have dared to say that Reagan is wrong.



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Sweeping up the Star Wars crumbs

So at last the Star Wars crumbs for Britain have been made public. The £1 billion worth of contracts, laughably last December before he signed the Memorandum of Understanding, the British Government's support for the Strategic Defence Initiative has been relentlessly hyped in Washington by Pentagon Star Warriors desperate to shore up their flagging and impractical programme.

To offset this image of Britain's acquiescence the Coalition Against Star Wars (CASW) was launched last week: it consists of peace, environment, development, scientific, medical and church groups. At its launch, Neil Kinnock detailed Labour Party opposition to Star Wars; and statements from David Steel and David Owen showed the extent of opposition to SDI from the leaders of the Alliance.

It is the Coalition's view that musing over unobtainable astro-domes is not the way to render nuclear weapons "impotent and obsolete". On the contrary, it will result in an unprecedented arms

race as the Soviets build more missiles to swamp the imperfect defence system, the West "catches up", the Soviets build their own SDI, etc etc.

Now that this programme is under increasing attack in the United States it really is time for the British Government to change its stance on Star Wars, cancelling the Memorandum of Understanding and negotiating a Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty — not only to cap the arms race but also to kill off the nuclear explosion-powered X-ray laser programme so important to SDI.

However, given Mrs Thatcher's lack of a resolution when it comes even to snapping at President Reagan's heels, we will doubtless have to wait until the next government, be it Labour or Alliance. Withdrawal from SDI in 1987-88 will strengthen enormously the efforts of Americans working hard to kill Star Wars when the new Administration comes to power in 1989 — when thankfully the Force of the Teflon Wizard will no longer be with us.

Colin Hines,
Greenpeace,
London N1.

The wisdom of Shankly

In your leader on the World Cup you pose the question of whether football is so important that it dictates the nation's perception of itself. The late Bill Shankly provided the answer when he commented that football is not a matter of life and death — it is more important than that!

On the same subject, my six-year-old daughter recently announced to my wife that we had a picture of God in the house. On returning from the bookcase she

presented her not with the Bible, but with Bill Shankly's autobiography.

John Kirkwood,
Sheffield.

Letters to the Editor are welcomed but not all can be acknowledged. We don't like cutting them but sometimes this is necessary to get them in the page — short letters stand a better chance. Send them to The Manchester Guardian Weekly, PO Box 18, Chesham, Cheshire SK9 1DD, England.

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Pessimistic look in the World Cup mirror

Maradona's handling of the ball into the English goal and the tolerant reactions to it of the England manager, your correspondent David Lacey and television commentators like Kevin Keegan ("All pros do it") throw much light on the symbolic meanings being conveyed by this most popular of international spectator sports.

The consensual view seems to be that responsibility for observance of football's rules lies not with players or managers, but with referees and those who appoint them. It seems to be reasonable to criticise FIFA for employing inexperienced officials from Third World countries, but not the privi-

leged young players who take advantage of them.

To be sure, this attitude of "realism" causes moral discomfort. If Maradona's hand-ball is understandable and no particular discredit to him, shouldn't the same tolerance be extended to the Brazilian goalkeeper's foul on Bellone, the French player who would otherwise have scored; or, come to that, to the Uruguayans' attempt to kick Scotland out of the competition? Where can one draw the line between one opportunist — "professionalism" — it is called, inverting the ethical meaning of the term — foul and another.

Football may be a truthful ex-

pression of a wider social climate. In this, responsibility for ethical behaviour lies outside the individual, in the framework of surveillance or sanctions which make misdeeds — whether burglary or fraud — profitable or not; especially this is so when money and status are at stake.

The current spectacle may unwittingly reveal some of the deepest — if most contradictory — values of a competitive, international enterprise culture. Seeing our society reflected in this mirror, we should be less surprised by its propensity to crime and disorder.

Michael Rustin,
NE London Polytechnic.

Paraguayan experience

There is little doubt that during the colonial period Paraguay was one of the largest Spanish possessions in the region. It was actually colonised before Argentina and Uruguay. However, its geographical position contributed to isolate it from the outside world, particularly at a time when the only means of communication with the main trade routes were either slow convoys of "carretas" or via the Rio Parana and the Rio de la Plata.

Your Leader (June 28) accurately notes that Voltaire was opposed to the establishment by the Jesuits of the famous Misiones. However, these protected the native Guarani from the economic exploitation — really slavery — of the Spanish and Portuguese colonists (apart from teaching them to build churches, music and so on).

Voltaire's criticisms perhaps were another example of the well-meaning, but mistaken, attempts of European intellectuals to understand the realities of developing countries while relying on incomplete information? It seems to me that you overestimate the influence of Britain on the political and economic development of the region. It is doubtful whether Britain ever exercised economic

"control" over any of the countries in the region. The main policy of Her Majesty's Government seems to have been to keep ports open for British commerce without discrimination. In the case of Paraguay this meant ensuring the free navigation of the rivers, and this could only have benefited the country.

I wonder how you support your statement that Britain plotted together with Argentina and Brazil (Uruguay was a minor partner in this crime) to fight the war of the Triple Alliance? This is still an important issue in South America. If there were any predators stalking Paraguay these were much nearer to its borders and did not need encouragement from Whitehall.

Finally, how do you justify your reference to Uruguay as a "miserable mini-state"? Although it is 48 times smaller than Brazil, it is still larger than England, Belgium and a few other countries. We Uruguayans may be "cynical and brutal, but talented" at football, but certainly not miserable.

(Dr) Juan Oribe Stemmer,
Princes Street,
Cardiff.

Knocking on Britain's door

What nonsense. "A million South Africans entitled to settle in Britain" (June 28). Since the 1960s successive British governments have continually reneged on their promises to Commonwealth citizens. The Nationality Act of 1948 gave British citizenship to all who were citizens of any Commonwealth country.

Since 1982 successive British governments have introduced legislation that has taken away the right of most Commonwealth citizens (all black) to enter Britain. The 1984 Nationality Act is a further refinement of this position. Now it is possible that East African Asians have no right of entry into any country outside the one that they reside in at present.

It is perfectly feasible for the Government to restrict the right of entry of the estimated million South African citizens who appear to have right of entry. But that couldn't happen; after all they are "white". British Immigration Law is inherently racist and only seeks to restrict black Commonwealth citizens from entering.

(Rev) C. Halliday,
Manchester.

Who cares about 'isms'?

Waldemar Januszczak's review of British Art since 1900 (June 15) betrays a touch of the arrogance which makes enthusiasts for Modernism the worst enemies of their own cause. Hero-worshipping the aggressive avant-garde can be just as "escapist" as losing yourself in a nostalgic rural mist. Both make pretty effective ways of running away from the normal concerns,

fears and celebrations of human life.

Or is it just living on the other side of the world that makes this obsession with taking sides in an ideological war (Modernism vs. Bourgeois Sentimentalism) seem so dated — more Anglo of Baldwin than Anglo of Thatcher?

Peter Gauld,
Kismis Avenue, Singapore.

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In brief... Defence cuts listed

By Alan Travis

AN East German couple created false identities and amassed spying equipment in preparation for espionage against Britain, an Old Bailey jury heard this week.

They had been furnished with a flamboyant array of forged documents and elaborate cover stories when police raided their home near Heathrow airport last August and found devices which could encode, de-code, send and receive messages to and from the German Democratic Republic, it was claimed.

Mr Reinhardt Schulze, aged 33, an interior designer, and his wife, Sonja, 36, a technical translator, denied three charges under section one of the Official Secrets Act, but pleaded guilty to two offences under the Forgery and Counterfeiting Act of possessing a forged British passport and a forged West German identity card.

Mr John Paul Getty II paid £1,375,000 at Sotheby's last week for four medieval manuscript pages illustrating the life of St Thomas à Becket. Mr Getty said: "It was important to me that it should be kept in this country." The treasure, lavishly illustrated, had come for sale from Europe and would not have needed an export licence to leave Britain.

Branson claims Blue Riband

By Paul Brown

THE POP music entrepreneur and airline boss Mr Richard Branson, fresh from his record crossing of the Atlantic, was told that he would not receive the coveted Blue Riband trophy because he had made the trip in a "toy boat" rather than an ocean liner.

In turn, Mr Branson put a brave face on the rather cutting remarks by the curator of the American Merchant Marine Museum, Mr Frank Braynard, and said it was the challenge that counted.

However, Mr Branson, whose boat Virgin Atlantic Challenger II was sporting a five-foot blue

THE Defence Secretary, Mr George Younger, this week announced the first "front line" defence cuts of the Conservative Government, with projects for all three armed services cancelled or delayed.

After seven years of continuous growth in defence spending under Mrs Thatcher's Government, Mr Younger announced the first in a series of "difficult decisions" to meet the 1.5 per cent per year decline in defence spending over the next three years.

In the case of the Navy, plans have been cancelled to fit new submarine detection sonars to the Type 22 frigates.

For the RAF, Mr Younger said: "Some adjustments are likely to the timescale and production quantities for some weapons systems." This is likely to mean that the Government is to delay ordering a second batch of 18 new Harrier GR9 jump jet aircraft. A decision will be taken before the end of the year.

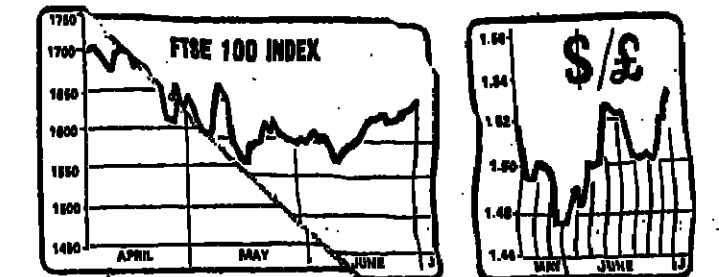
The RAF will also be hit by "short delays" in the build up of "Tornado GR1 reconnaissance" because of a diversion of Tornado ground attack aircraft and weapons to support the major sale

such aircraft to Saudi Arabia.

Unexpectedly, Mr Younger included the Army in this first package of frontline cutbacks indicating that the Ministry of Defence will not proceed with the Law Mine, which is a light anti-tank weapon, and will also reduce provision for future mines.

Mr Younger said that other difficult decisions will be necessary. "We will take these as and when we have to, but clearly I shall be having to take the greatest care when deciding on the size and timing of all orders for the foreseeable future. There is no question of wholesale deferrals."

MPs, particularly those from shipbuilding constituencies, are very concerned about the new orders for Type 23 frigates, which are to be announced before August. Up to three new frigates had been expected to have been ordered to maintain 60 escorts in the destroyer-frigate fleet, and Mr Younger fuelled speculation that only one or two would be ordered.



Oil cheaper

By John Hooper

CRUDE oil prices slipped early this week after Opec adjourned its summer conference till July 28 without attempting to reach agreement on how to share out new production limits.

The chairman, Mr Rilwanu Lukman of Nigeria, appealed to ministers to keep output down. But the minister for the United Arab Emirates, Dr Mana Saeed Al-Otaiba, said the UAE intended to continue to produce over 50 per cent more than its existing quota. Agreement was reached — if only by a majority — on a target price range of \$17 to \$20 a barrel, compared with present levels of \$11 to \$12.

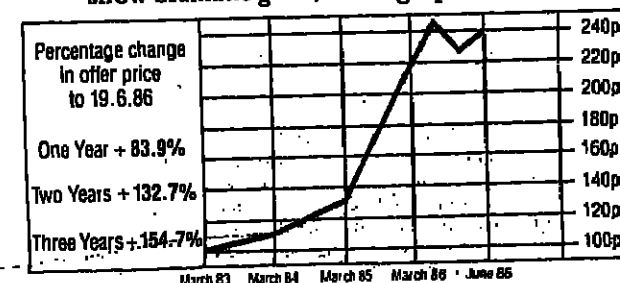
FOREIGN EXCHANGES

	Market Rates June 30	Previous Closing Rates
Australia	2.2700-2.2720	2.2700-2.2720
Austria	23.84-23.85	23.89-23.75
Belgium	48.19-48.50	48.50-50.00
Canada	2.1287-2.1289	2.1288-2.1284
Denmark	12.47-12.50	12.50-12.53
France	16.74-16.75	16.74-16.76
Germany	3.36-3.37	3.36-3.37
Hong Kong	11.80-12.00	11.70-11.91
Ireland	1.1150-1.1140	1.1140-1.1150
Japan	2.3100-2.3114	2.3110-2.3100
Netherlands	3.7934-3.7982	3.79-3.80
Norway	11.48-11.50	11.50-11.52
Portugal	22.12-22.80	22.80-23.73
Spain	214.85-216.18	215.59-216.06
Sweden	10.80-10.82	10.81-10.94
Switzerland	2.7484-2.7525	2.75-2.76
USA	1.5300-1.5340	1.5291-1.5290
ECU	1.5691-1.5690	1.5694-1.5713

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THE WEEK

POLICE in Madrid detained a Palestinian terrorist who allegedly duped a Spaniard of Arab origin. The bomb went off instead at Madrid Airport. It was a carbon copy of the Heathrow bomb incident on April 17. Police said Nasser Hassan El Ali, lieutenant in the Abu Musa group, a suicide containing a bomb to Manuel Jalef, before he passed it to an El Ali security check. El Ali security agents only an El Ali peacekeeping mission, bomber and employee and a Spaniard. El Ali security agents only an El Ali peacekeeping mission, bomber and employee and a Spaniard.

Mr Gorbachev, ed the Soviet Communist Party, the United States of Congress, Europe. The US should "kidnap" world peace and stop "at seriously the latest Soviet should be on reducing conventional arms." Gorbachev's visit is seen as an endorsement for General Jaruzelski's Poland and a reconstruction member of the Soviet camp. The Soviet leader offered a sympathetic analysis of the problems thrown up by Solidarity, though he did not mention the union by name. "The Polish crisis," he said, "was not a product by the working class against socialism, but an objection to the distortions of socialism in practice."

IN A MOVE which could trigger renewed American pressure on Libya, the five remaining oil companies in the country halted operations to comply with a Reagan Administration order.

THIRTY-THREE Tamil separatist rebels died when a Sri Lankan naval patrol engaged a boat bringing them to the island from India. Only one guerrilla survived. The incident occurred shortly before four people died and 19 others were wounded in a rebel bomb blast at a tea kiosk in the Vavuni district.

TWO men condemned to death in Malaysia for drug smuggling have been granted a last-minute stay of execution until next month.

Kevin Barlow, aged 26, who holds dual British and Australian nationality, and a 26-year-old Australian, Brian Chambers, were due to be hanged last week. Penang's state legal adviser said he would withhold a draft death warrant for Chambers until a case seeking a stay of execution was heard on July 4.

BY A 5-4 vote the US Supreme Court upheld a Georgia state law that makes sodomy a crime. Reversing a federal appeals court ruling, the court said that consenting adults had no right to engage in private homosexual conduct. The Supreme Court previously has ruled that decisions to marry, have children, practice birth control or have an abortion are fundamental rights.

POLICE in the Pakistani city of Peshawar have rounded up about 1,000 Afghan refugees in an operation designed to calm nerves after a mysterious string of bomb blasts which have rocked it in recent weeks. Of a handful of suspected saboteurs due to be brought before special tribunals this week, only one is an Afghan refugee. Security officials blame the bombing campaign on Khad, the Afghan secret police.

THE Canadian Prime Minister, Mr Brian Mulroney, his Progressive Conservative Party sagging in popularity, announced a key Cabinet reshuffle affecting more than half of his 35 ministers. Mr Mulroney dismissed six Cabinet members, including the Deputy Prime Minister, Mr Erik Nielsen, named eight new ones, and shifted other colleagues to new posts. The respected External Affairs Minister, Mr Joe Clark, and the Finance Minister, Mr Michael Wilson, kept their jobs.

JAPAN'S trade surplus expanded in May to a monthly record, despite the steep rise of the yen, which has been blamed for the country's first-quarter economic slowdown. The surplus topped the previous high of \$7.66 billion set in April, and was nearly double the \$4.26 billion surplus recorded in May 1985.

THE Peruvian Government dismissed General Maximino Andres Martinez, the chief of the country's paramilitary Republican Guard police force, three days after President Alan Garcia accused its members of executing at least 100 Maoist prisoners. Mr Garcia vowed to punish all responsible for killing the Maoists when they surrendered after a prison revolt. (Details, page 8)

A bomb on a Peruvian tourist train in the former Inca capital of Cuzco killed seven people and wounded 40. The dead included a West German, an American, a Brazilian and a Peruvian.

Howe's shuttle mission 'last chance'

CHER this week re- MRS. South African ambassador the espousal of "positive" rather than sanctions to encourage the Pretoria regime to eliminate apartheid.

The ambassador, Mr Denis Worrall, told MPs in Westminster that she had adopted "a more constructive approach than seating the hall out of the white South Africans".

Mr Worrall's intervention came in evidence to the Commons foreign affairs committee when he was asked what concessions the South African Government might entertain to speed a settlement.

"The possibilities of concessions arise when in fact there is a more realistic assessment on the part of so many critics of South Africa of the internal situation in South Africa," he said.

"It is one thing to focus on the deficiencies of South African society. It is one thing to focus on the immorality of apartheid. It is another altogether to make constructive suggestions and to want to play a constructive role in the post-apartheid society."

In the face of British and West German opposition to the imposition of economic sanctions, the Common Market summit meeting in The Hague had last week failed to agree to anything more substantial as regards measures against South Africa than to launch a mission to Pretoria, headed by Britain's Foreign Secretary, Sir Geoffrey Howe. Sir Geoffrey would be urging the South African Government to rescind the state of emergency and release the thousands of people detained under it. He will also urge that the ban on the African National Congress and other political parties be lifted, and the ANC leader, Mr Nelson Mandela be released. (Details, page 7)

These demands would not be accompanied by the threat to impose sanctions if they were not complied with, the British Government was careful to point out. Its ONE of the more instructive anecdotes of that incomparable autobiographer Claud Cockburn concerns the period immediately after he finally came out of the closet and joined the pre-war Daily Worker as its diplomatic correspondent. The post involved certain professional difficulties for him, since the deadline for its first and only edition arrived each evening long before events had fully taken shape. He records that, while attending some crucial international conference or other in Geneva, he told a few sympathetic colleagues on the rival "capitalist" papers how hard it was to compose an adequate story long before each day's session had ended.

"No problem at all, old boy," they replied. "All you have to do is visualise the most humiliating, the most craven, the most dishonourable thing the British delegation could do, and write that they have done it. By the time the meeting ends you will find that they have."

Now, it is perhaps pushing it a bit to suggest that current British policy towards the apartheid regime in South Africa is on all fours with the Chamberlain-Hallifax attitude to Hitler's Germany. But I have to confess that Claud Cockburn's story — no doubt polished a bit in the telling — came to mind last week in the immediate aftermath of Mrs Thatcher's alleged "triumph" at the EEC summit.

For the fact is that her approach view is that any attempt at black counter-productive. Sir Geoffrey's mission is a huge political gamble. He will be shuttling between London, Pretoria and Lusaka with the seemingly impossible task of establishing a framework for dialogue, with the abolition of apartheid as its goal. He aims to do this in little more than a month, before the Commonwealth mini-summit in August when, if no worthwhile progress has been achieved, Britain may well face the threat of resignations from the Commonwealth if it continues to resist the call for sanctions.

The Foreign Secretary is emphatic that he is not going on yet another fact-finding mission and that he is looking for serious negotiations, that would involve the South African President Mr P. W. Botha, as well as South Africa's black leadership, including the ANC leaders-in-exile. He expects to meet both the South African President and the Foreign Minister, Mr R. F. "Pik" Botha, as well as Mr Mandela, if the gaoler ANC leader agrees to meet him.

The South African Foreign Minister, while conceding that Sir Geoffrey's mission "might, on the whole be a good thing", also criticised the Foreign Secretary's assertion that the object of his visit was to secure a negotiated end to apartheid.

As evidence of the new firmness in Britain's policy against the Pretoria Government, Mr Oliver Tambo, the ANC president, held his first meeting with a British minister when he met Mrs Lynda Chalker, the Minister of State at the Foreign Office. Mr Tambo described the meeting as "very good, very cordial", but he said he did not detect signs that Britain's resistance to sanctions is weakening.

The meeting marked a sharp reversal of previous British basis the Botha regime would not otherwise be interested in a genuine bid to end apartheid, has become a major weapon in the hands of the pro-sanctions lobby. She has had a hard time rubbing it in.

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that, there had been no such agreement, and that sanctions were by no means automatic in such an event. Whatever else he has learned from his six months as the titular head of the EEC, Dr Lubbers now knows what the rest of us have known for some time — that Mrs Thatcher is no gentleman.

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view is that any attempt at black counter-productive. Sir Geoffrey's mission is a huge political gamble. He will be shuttling between London, Pretoria and Lusaka with the seemingly impossible task of establishing a framework for dialogue, with the abolition of apartheid as its goal. He aims to do this in little more than a month, before the Commonwealth mini-summit in August when, if no worthwhile progress has been achieved, Britain may well face the threat of resignations from the Commonwealth if it continues to resist the call for sanctions.

The Foreign Secretary is emphatic that he is not going on yet another fact-finding mission and that he is looking for serious negotiations, that would involve the South African President Mr P. W. Botha, as well as South Africa's black leadership, including the ANC leaders-in-exile. He expects to meet both the South African President and the Foreign Minister, Mr R. F. "Pik" Botha, as well as Mr Mandela, if the gaoler ANC leader agrees to meet him.

The South African Foreign Minister, while conceding that Sir Geoffrey's mission "might, on the whole be a good thing", also criticised the Foreign Secretary's assertion that the object of his visit was to secure a negotiated end to apartheid.

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cratic House of Representatives has already voted for a total cut-off of economic relations.

In South Africa, where the imposition of effective censorship has stifled the flow of verifiable news reports, the clampdown on members of opposition groups increased in intensity. A list of over 1,000 people detained was acquired by the Guardian. It includes newspaper editors, clerics — in some cases whole church congregations are being held — and political activists of all kinds.

Outbreaks of violence continued. In the first two weeks of the emergency the official death toll was given as 66, though the Government announced that daily news briefings were being discontinued as the situation no longer warranted them.

In a potentially significant development, the powerful Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, told a rally of 15,000 supporters in Soweto that President Botha's proposed National Council could make the start of "the final victory of the black struggle for liberation".

Raising the possibility of participation in the council by his million-member Inkatha movement, the chief made it clear that a decision to join was contingent on several conditions.

One was that Mr Mandela should be released and given the option of joining the council or spurning it. Another was that he, Chief Buthelezi, should receive a "massive mandate" from blacks to do so. A third condition was that the final plans for the National Council — due to be approved at a special congress of President Botha's ruling National Party in August — make it clear that it is a body imbued with real power and not "merely a talking shop".

The rally took place under police protection and black radicals afterwards attacked several buses carrying his supporters, killing three people.

This tells us nothing about how the income is distributed. Countries at a similar stage of development tend to be extremely unequal, even without South Africa's racial policy. In Brazil, for example, the top 10 per cent of income earners dispose of just over half of all income, compared with just under a quarter in richer Britain.

However, the above-average infant mortality rate and the below-average life expectancy for upper middle income countries suggest that income distribution is if anything worse in the Republic. One estimate is that the average annual earnings of the urban black population are around a quarter of average annual earnings of the five million or so white population, while the one million Asians earn about half white earnings and the near three million mixed race "coloureds" average just over a third.

There is also severe unemployment in the black population is estimated to be 8.5 per cent, its highest level for four years. However, this published figure for black unemployment does not include unemployment in the "homelands" which probably increases the total to well over three million, or a quarter of the workforce. Even unemployment amongst the white, coloured and Asian population nearly doubled from 36,500 in December 1984 to more than 71,100 in January 1986 due to the recession during 1985.

The structure of the South African economy is similar to other up- middle income countries, in that it still relies preponderantly on commodity exports to earn its foreign exchange and pay for its imports. It thus fits classically into the pattern of a primary producing country dependent on the metropolitan states of Europe and North America for more sophisticated goods.

Thatcher wins on sanctions delay

THE deeply divided EEC summit last week produced only a vaguely worded promise to look again, in three months, at further sanctions against South Africa.

The leaders of the 12 countries called for the release of Nelson Mandela and other political prisoners, lifting of the ban on the African National Congress and for the opening of talks between the Pretorian Government and black opposition. They also endorsed a peace mission to South Africa by Sir Geoffrey Howe, the Foreign Secretary, on behalf of the whole EEC, in his capacity as president of the Council of Ministers.

The promise of "further measures" — a ban on new investments, and on the import of coal, iron, steel and gold coins from South Africa — if South Africa fails to respond to these demands was a triumph for Mrs Thatcher and her main ally, the West German Chancellor, Dr Helmut Kohl, who fought off strong pressure from the pro-sanctions majority at the summit.

Both said after the two-day meeting that there was no ultimatum to South Africa and no commitment to impose sanctions.

ALMOST the single most important feature of the South African economy is its global insignificance. The entire continent of Africa, after all, has a Gross National Product — or national income — rather smaller than Britain's. Within that total, South Africa had a GNP worth some \$70 billion in 1984, or roughly midway between the \$65 billion figure for Austria and the \$75 billion total for Belgium.

South Africa's GNP had to be shared out amongst a lot more people, since the population is estimated at about 31 million giving a GNP per head of \$2,225 (compared with \$9,802 in Britain). This makes it squarely an "upper middle income" country, in World Bank parlance. Its rough living standards in total are just about the same as, say, Mexico's, or Brazil's, or Argentina's.

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Mrs Thatcher spoke warmly of the Community's "practical and constructive" approach. "It is very easy in life to go on hitting out. It is much slower but more positive and worthwhile to take measured steps to achieve the result you want. That is the message of our communiqué," she said.

The hit-list of possible sanctions accounted for some 20 per cent of South African exports to the EEC last year. The leaders said the Community should co-ordinate any possible action with other industrialised nations — meaning chiefly the US and Japan. But there is no obligation on the Europeans themselves to adopt the measures, whatever happens in South Africa.

There will also be a concerted European programme of aid to the victims of the South African system. "In this connection the European Council has agreed to an increase in financial and material assistance to the victims of apartheid, in particular those affected by the disturbances in Crossroads and to political prisoners, including those arrested in connection with the recent reimposition of the state of emergency."

But the Government is aware that it faces strong criticism for

"The European Council is convinced that the commencement without delay of a national dialogue with the authentic leaders of the black population is essential to halt a further escalation of violence and allow negotiations leading to truly democratic and non-racial South Africa. This dialogue cannot take place as long as recognised leaders of the black community are detained and their organisations are proscribed."

Sir Geoffrey's trip to South Africa was described as "a further effort to establish conditions in which the necessary dialogue can commence."

The pre-sanctions faction made the best of their defeat, causing some confusion about what the communiqué actually meant.

President Mitterrand of France said that when the three-month deadline was up, and if Sir Geoffrey's mission failed, no member state would be able to rule out implementation of the package. A similar interpretation was put on the communiqué sent by Denmark.

All attempts to establish exactly how far the EEC had collectively decided to go were crisply dismissed by Mrs Thatcher. "Stick to the words we all agreed," was her

advice to reporters. "I am not going to have anything to do with attempts to find differences between members of the Community."

In a weekend interview, Sir Geoffrey stressed his role as a representative of the EEC in his trip to South Africa and claimed that the initiative was much more than an effort by the British Government to avoid tough sanctions.

It was important to see the mission as a European one, he said on BBC Radio 4's The World This Weekend. "So any unwillingness to respond to that mission will not just be saying no to me or Margaret Thatcher, but saying no to the whole weight of the European Community."

But in the same interview he said he was not going bearing threats. "We recognise how foolish it would be to drive them into the larger where dialogue would be impossible," he said. Instead he was going with the weight of common sense and a sense of moral justice as a weapon — "the strongest weapon in the world."

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Mrs Thatcher's refusal to consider early sanctions against Pretoria. Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour leader, and the two Alliance Party leaders all served notice that they will pin on Mrs Thatcher the blame for any adverse effects on Britain of the delay in considering sanctions and in trying what they consider to be an ill-fated mission.

Commonwealth reaction, led by President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, is causing concern in the Foreign Office. But officials are arguing that before the mini-summit in London in August to consider sanctions Britain will have demonstrated a willingness for concerted international pressure on South Africa and will not be able to be accused of dodging the issue.

Mr Denis Healey, Labour's foreign affairs spokesman, after his southern Africa trip accused the Government of inventing the Howe mission "as a delaying tactic to prevent Mrs Thatcher confronting reality". White businessmen to whom he had spoken said they regarded the analysis of the Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group as correct.

The cost of imposing economic measures

IMPOSE sanctions South Africa simply does not seem large enough in the world economy.

Gold is no longer the key to the world monetary system, and the leading industrial countries are nominally pledged to demonetise it entirely. Certainly, South Africa produces about 86 per cent of the world's platinum, but an interruption of supplies will do little more than impede the introduction of anti-pollution exhausts on cars. The 56-60 per cent of world chrome which South Africa produces is used in stainless steel. Half the world's manganese, also used in steel making, is not enough to hold anyone to ransom. Scarcity might push prices up — but that would also encourage consumers to economise, and alternative suppliers and substitutes to spring up.

Even for a country as directly involved with South Africa as Britain, the interests are small. Britain's visible exports to South Africa were worth £1 billion last year, or 1.28 per cent of the total. To put that in context, Britain's exports to Iran fell by £500 million between 1978 and 1979 after the fall of the Shah. Invisible earnings from South Africa — shipping banking interest etc — was worth £1.9 billion in 1984, which was 2.1 per cent of total British invisible credits.

The Department of Trade and Industry's guestimates are that Britain's total investment in South Africa was worth 26 billion at the end of 1984, split about in half between direct investment in subsidiaries and portfolio investment in shares. That was 3.8 per cent of the total overseas investment (before deducting foreigners' investments in Britain) and barely more than a third of the net gain which we made in 1984 mainly due to currency movements.

In addition, British banks have lent around £6.9 billion to South Africa at the end of 1984, which was 1.6 per cent of their outstanding overseas claims (before deducting foreigners' claims on us). At the time, the banks had lent £13 billion to Brazil and £12 billion to Mexico.

For Mr Du Plessis, the harsh truth is that little economies in South Africa are a lot more important to the world than to them. Economic pressure would hurt, though what it would hurt enough to, extra more than minor concessions another question.

There is unlikely to be a great quass of Western governments offering to bail Pretoria out of its financial problems, even if the British government is unwilling to

expected. At present the South Africans are running a very substantial surplus of exports over imports, and hence sending resources abroad.

Foreign businesses are taking out more in interest profits and dividends than they are putting in with new capital, and the banks are not lending new credit which the South Africans can use to repay their old debt and the interest on it. South Africa even managed to repay \$2 billion of its \$24 billion foreign currency debt over last year.

The financial markets have indirectly been putting enormous pressure on Pretoria to accelerate reform, mainly through the sharp collapse in the rand in 1984 and 1985, which saw a rate against the US dollar of only 2.58 in the fourth quarter compared with 1.07 at the end of 1982. Import prices have soared and the inflation rate is now at 20 per cent.

Government economic policy has been schizophrenic, reacting at times to the pressure of the falling rand with tough deflation and at others to the riots with public spending and an easing in policy. Real GDP growth was a relatively rapid 5 per cent in 1984, but the widening current account deficit and the sharp decline in the currency forced depressive measures. Imports fell sharply, which swung the current account from a deficit of 1.4 billion rand in 1984 to a surplus of 7.1 billion rand last year, and left the real GDP dropping by 1 per cent last year, the third decline in four years.

By adding to the domestic unemployment it will also have added to the domestic political pressures, which in turn unsettle the financial markets. Mr Barend Plessis, the Finance Minister, is walking a tightrope trying to keep both constituencies — foreign financiers and the blacks — at bay. Last week, perhaps panicked by both the riots and the evidence that the economy declined against in the first quarter of this year, he announced a 1.2 billion rand reflexionary package the largest item of which was spending on low-cost housing for blacks. South Africa needs 2.5 per cent growth just to keep the living standards of a rising population stable.

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involved in an economy with a distinct shortage of skilled manpower. In the short term, at least, production would be at the expense of something else.

The other import on which South Africa still depends crucially is oil. The government started an oil from coal project back in 1955, and three of the SASOL plants are now operational. Even the most optimistic official estimate, however, puts their ability to meet oil needs at no more than 40 per cent of a total 280,000 barrels a day.

There is also a distinct problem with the oil from coal process, because it does not produce much diesel fuel used in commercial transport. The size of the strategic stockpile of oil is secret, but the wilder stories of vast underground lakes are probably an exaggeration. The regime may have 15 months to two years' unrattioned oil supplies.

The South African economy would also lose enormous opportunities if it were cut off from imported technology and know-how, as with any other small and open economy. (Despite the tariffs, imports and exports are each worth about a quarter of GDP.) Most economic growth is due to productivity improvements, which are in turn due to technological innovations.

However, the short term effect of South Africa being cut off from the world financial system might be the very reverse of what would be

Talking with the ANC

WHATEVER the concomitant of the Government's decision to let Mr. Oliver Tambo, to call on Mr. Chabker, a Foreign Office, in South Africa. Its significance should be diminished by the ANC's previous renunciation of the use of force, given as the ANC contact with it. The ANC has produced this heartening South Africa. But the original Conservative position on the ANC, essentially that it was to be shunned because it was a Marxist organisation with Communist connections, is one which still, quite naturally, worry many more moderate people whose loathing of apartheid is matched by their abhorrence of political violence. The importance of the ANC for South Africa's future, freshly enhanced by British de facto recognition, and the arrival of the apartheid crisis at the centre of the world stage make this a moment to reflect on the movement's moral status.

The ANC, founded in 1912 on the model of Gandhi's Natal Indian Congress, has always presented itself as a broad church open to anyone in favour of justice for blacks in South Africa, based on one person, one vote. Pretoria makes much of the fact that about half its executive are or were members of the South African Communist Party. The imprisoned spiritual leader of the ANC, Nelson Mandela, said at his trial in 1984: "For many decades Communists were the only political group which was prepared to sit with us, talk with us, live with us and work with us... the Africans for the attainment of political rights and a stake in society. Because of this there are many Africans who, today, tend to equate freedom with Communism. They are supported in this belief by a legislature which brands all exponents of democratic government and African freedom as Communists." These words still apply. The equation by some of Communism with freedom may sound tragically ironic, but from an African point of view, nurtured on a tradition of social collectivism, the Western alternative and its twisted offspring, apartheid, have not done much for black rights. Nonetheless the ANC still stands for a multiracial or non-racial government and a mixed economy in a post-apartheid South Africa, and the rather less than radical Commonwealth Eminent Persons Group went out of its way in its recent report to emphasise the moderation of people like Mr. Mandela and Mr. Tambo.

The ANC espoused violence only when it was banned after the massacre at Sharpeville. Despite recent ANC bombings and threats to attack "soft targets," it may have been responsible for three dozen deaths in 26 years, compared with 1,700 blacks killed in South Africa by police and black intercommunal violence since September 1984. Few outside (and not so many within) the ranks of the ruling Afrikaner Nationalists doubt that a fair election would give the ANC a majority. As the militarily much weaker party, it will not renounce violence unless Pretoria does the same; President Botha's latest actions show that it is up against a racistist tyranny in its fight for the vote. The ANC is the dominant piece on the black side of the board. Britain has seen the light; it is a tragedy for South Africa that the Botha regime has rejected negotiation with reasonable men.

THE most enduring side effect of the US Star Wars programme for Britain may not be the technological crumbs from President Reagan's table, but the impetus it has given to European civil collaboration. In little more than a year the chauvinistically spawned "Eureka" defence initiative by President Mitterrand has been transformed from an anti-SDI scheme into a wide ranging civil programme. In London on Monday, ministers representing 18 European countries endorsed over 60 joint development projects worth £14 billion (in addition to 26 existing ones) which will be handled by private enterprise, suitably aided by public funds. In Britain, the cash — to

IT DID not need a referendum in the south to rule out any prospect of a unified Ireland for the foreseeable future, but what the vote has done is to reinforce partitionist thinking on both sides. Of course, the people of the Republic are entitled to whatever social system they decide on, even if it is, in the words of the Democratic Unionist Party, the showpiece of Catholic nationalism in Europe. Those who find the atmosphere claustrophobic will have to emigrate, as they have done in large numbers before for different reasons. But the Republic cannot with any consistency assert in theory its concern for the Protestant minority in the island and vote so decisively against minority rights in practice.

Mr Charles Haughey, leader of Fianna Fail, said on Irish radio that the vote had no bearing on the North-South question because even in a unitary state (the cited Anglo-Scottish union) different legal systems could coexist. Much more could they coexist in a federal Ireland. All that may be constitutionally true, but Mr Haughey is far too smart a politician not to recognise that the prospect of harmonious relations between north and south has been damaged, perhaps irreparably, because the vote can so easily be interpreted as a snub to all those outside the Catholic Church. And that regretably means that harmonious relations between the two northern communities have been damaged too.

Mr John Hume was nearer the mark when he said that the impact on the north did not get the attention it deserved during

Ireland and the vote on divorce

the campaign. If the biggest problem of Ireland is the division of its people then the consequences go far beyond questions of marital breakdown. They include murder and economic depression. The Irish electorate could have voted to narrow the division (it was not planned, as observers could be forgiven for supposing, to make divorce compulsory). But the very fact of having a referendum and rejecting reform has made the division wider. It is for that reason that Dr Garret FitzGerald's judgment in going ahead with it is being criticised within his own party, but that flash of wisdom is a good deal easier after the event.

Unionist leaders have thus been handed the most plausible of reasons for resisting blandishments from the south. If a majority in the north consistently votes to continue partition so, in the light of this and the previous abortion referendum, does a majority in the south. (The previous vote was not about whether to legalise abortion. It was to make what was already illegal unconstitutional as well.) That argument must, however, be resisted in so far as it is applied to the Anglo-Irish agreement. The one-third of the people in the north who think of themselves as nationalists have in effect been given a protecting power to look after their interests. No adverse effects on the Unionists flow from that. If a future Taoiseach behaved less sensitively than does Dr FitzGerald then a new situation would have arisen. As it is Mr Peter Barry is going to find his remaining tenure difficult. Not only is he, as Foreign Minis-

Liberté takes a back seat

LOOK around democratic Europe and you will see the police under a growing dual pressure almost everywhere — from their increasing workload and from controversy about the way they deal with it. In Britain there are the hippies, the Stalker affair, Wapping and the unending row about tougher police measures. In Sweden the force is under attack for failing to find Olof Palme's assassin. In West Germany the boys in green are on the streets again with tear-gas and water-cannon against nuclear protesters. In the Netherlands and Ireland they are all but swamped by the drug problem, in Spain by the Basque terrorists, in Italy by organised crime. In so many democracies there seems to be a growing tendency to treat deep-seated social ills as problems exclusively of law and order because they begin with, or can lead to, lawbreaking.

It is a central feature of democracy that there should be a continual debate about the role and power of the police, when technology offers unprecedented possibilities for social control as society itself becomes more and more difficult to manage. Never was it truer to say that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance — and nowhere is it more true than in France since the Right returned to government. When the Socialists took office in 1981 one of their first actions was to liberalise French law-enforcement, which is uniquely elaborate and all-pervading among the democracies. It was the first occasion in modern times that the particularly (though not exclusively) French trend towards tighter police control, going back to the Revolution and beyond, was put into reverse.

The Right has also made an early move on law and order — by swinging the pendulum violently in the opposite direction. The four security bills now winding their way through parliament are dramatic

evidence of the peculiarly French obsession with crime. Since Paris is the western capital most attacked by terrorists and France is noted for violent crime, popular anxiety is not surprising. But the proposed measures make enormous inroads into civil liberties without any evidence that they will have the desired effect. The police will be able to make random identity checks and arrest people on unspecified suspicion, with heavy penalties for those who do not cooperate. A "forgery-proof," computer-readable identity card is to be issued, minimum sentences of 30 years imposed for some crimes, detention without charge to be made easier and parole to be severely restricted. Right-wing deputies are falling over themselves to propose even tougher amendments to restore the death penalty and introduce heavy fines or imprisonment for those defending or even those (such as journalists) publicising the aims and words of terrorists. Add all this to impending legislation on immigration and nationality and you have a vicious mix of repression which threatens immigrants and the young above all.

The law-and-order package has rightly aroused all manner of social pressure groups. Roman Catholic and Muslim leaders have condemned it in an unparalleled joint initiative. Here, one would think, is a clear case for intervention by the Socialist President Mitterrand. Unfortunately, the opinion polls show that the voters may dislike almost everything else the Chirac Government has done since it took over in March — but they favour the surrender of precious civil liberties for fear of terrorists, criminals and foreigners. Mr Mitterrand has made no comment so far and his party is pulling its punches. If he suppresses the liberal instincts he showed when he came to office to improve his chances of re-election, he will surely reduce his claim on a second term. This is no time to be saying nothing.

Star Wars encourages Europeans to cooperate

Research and development costs — will come out of the £300 million Support for Innovation budget. Projects range from research on advanced traffic guidance systems for cars (BL, Daimler-Benz and three other countries) to a do-it-yourself diagnostic kit for sexually transmitted diseases (PA Technology in conjunction with others). Britain is involved in 28 of the projects, most of which would not have gone ahead in the collaborative way they have without the existence of Eureka.

The Eureka initiative is a belated realisation that if Europe is to provide effective competition for Japan and the United States it must stop duplicating its

R and D effort among over a dozen countries and try instead to concentrate scarce resources in key growth areas of the future on a transnational basis. This ought really to be part of a wider Common Technology Policy financed, maybe, from the surplus funds of the CAP, which has outlived its usefulness. Europe now produces too much food and too few products of advanced technology. Such a policy, ideally, would encourage a European technological renaissance by giving fiscal privileges for companies which link up with those in other countries to develop products which can sell on a world scale. Releasing the vast purchasing power of the giant European utilities — particu-

lar, co-chairman with Mr Tom King of the Anglo-Irish conference but he was the minister in charge of the Government's referendum campaign.

Loyalist leaders would have expressed no thanks if the vote had gone the other way. In that sense Dr FitzGerald was on the proverbial hiding to nothing. His reason for holding the referendum was that he thought it the right thing to do, for the Republic itself and then for the whole island. That reason remains entirely adequate.

Craxi not for melting

AS Prime Minister of Italy, Mr Bettino Craxi had become so much of a fixture that Madame Tussaud's was poised to put his effigy on display in London this week. The momentary disfigurement of foreign wax-works is, of course, rather less important than the implications for his own country of the resignation of the holder of the allcomers' postwar record for unbroken tenure of the Italian premiership. It has, however, been clear for some months that Mr Craxi has been living on borrowed time. As leader of a coalition of five parties of which his own Socialists constitute only the second largest (by a wide margin), he was a political anomaly. Italy's dominant party, the Christian Democrats, never out of office since the war, tolerated Mr Craxi for nearly three years because they had suffered electoral setbacks and for a while had no credible and obvious new candidate for the premiership. But since the election of the energetic Mr Ciriaco de Mita as their leader last year it has only been a question of time before they would reassert their claim to the national leadership.

It is, however, an uncomfortable fact for the Christian Democrats that the only two heads of government from outside their ranks — Mr Craxi and Mr Giovanni Spadolini of the tiny Republican Party (currently defence minister) — have proved to be the outstanding Italian premiers of recent years. The two men fell out last autumn over the handling of the terrorist seizure of the Italian cruise-liner Achille Lauro, which occasioned Mr Craxi's first resignation. He immediately returned to office at the head of the identical coalition, on a wave of Italian resentment over the way the Americans had ignored national sovereignty in hijacking the ship's hijackers to an Italian airfield. Now that he has resigned a second time, Mr Craxi has already been asked by President Cossiga to stay on as caretaker pending the formation of a new government, and it is entirely possible that he may be offered the chance, unpromising though it looks, of forming a third administration. He is, after all, a leader who has managed to do more than his predecessors in stabilising the Italian economy. Never held back by false modesty, Mr Craxi was always firmly convinced that his leadership of a faction historically overshadowed by Europe's largest Communist Party should not prevent him from aspiring to a post he believed was his due.

His second resignation resulted from last week's parliamentary defeat in a secret ballot on local government finance, which followed immediately on victory in an open vote of confidence. Whether he comes back now or later is an open question: that we have not heard the last of him seems certain. Madame Tussaud's should not rush to melt him down.

lary the telecommunications monopolies — to buy the products of these new Euro companies (instead of buying from indigenous suppliers) could be a key stage in such a policy. There is also a vital need to develop common standards so that the new companies do not (as witness what happened in the computer games industry) churn out products incompatible with those produced by other European companies.

So far, so good. But one of the ironies is that Britain is now involved in an embryonic industrial strategy in Europe — while eschewing such an approach at home. As it bears fruit, what does our government think then?

Le Monde

ENGLISH SECTION

Sandinistas crack down on all opposition

By Jean-Claude Buhner

MANAGUA — "The Sandinistas are doing exactly what they like. What they want is for everybody to fall in with their views and meekly approve the Front's policy. Their sectarianism is prompting them to take an overbearing and condescending attitude towards democratic and anti-imperialist organisations. By doing this they are running the risk of cutting themselves off from the people and becoming a fringe element themselves."

Such language would come as no surprise from a representative of the Nicaraguan Opposition. It is however an indication of the malaise when the speaker happens to be Gustavo Tablada, secretary-general of the pro-Soviet Socialist Party.

A Communist activist for the past 25 years, Tablada studied medicine and later specialised in psychiatry at Moscow's Lumbum University. He told me he had also seen the insides of Somoza's gaols. His party continues to give "considered support" to the revolution, but its criticism can hardly be ignored.

In the very interests of the revolution and as Marxists," Tablada pointed out, "we cannot go on clinging to an ostrich-like policy and turn a blind eye to the growing signs of general discontent. Imperialist aggression may well have made a substantial contribution to making the situation worse, but we cannot blame imperialism for all our problems."

Even more scathing is Virgilio Godoy, leader of the Independent Liberal Party (PLI), which is squarely in the opposition inside the regime. Godoy belonged to the splinter group of the old Liberal Party which fought against the Somoza dictatorship, and he went some way along with the Sandinistas, serving as Labour Minister until 1984. Like the 10 or so other parties ranging from the far left to the

NICARAGUA, vowing to enforce its state of emergency with greater vigour at the weekend, shut down indefinitely the country's only opposition newspaper, *La Prensa*. The emergency has been applied at times with too much flexibility, President Daniel Ortega said. "We cannot go on allowing traitors to carry on their shameless activities with impunity." (*Contra* bill approved, pages 16/18.

centre which continue to play by the rules the government has set, the PLI has been severely hit by the suspension of basic freedoms decreed in October 1985. "Theoretically," said Godoy, "the state of emergency and the emergency measures are intended to combat the contras. But it matters little to them. The first to be affected are those who operate within the law. If the contras didn't exist, the government would have to invent them, for it needs them to justify its policy and silence civil dissent."

Because of the emergency, public meetings of the Opposition are banned. Its representatives are barred from access to the media. They can intervene in the Congress, but what they say there is subject to censorship just in case *La Prensa*, the only Opposition newspaper, wants to report their views. Opposition parliamentarians are rather bitter about it. "The Legislative Assembly," says Godoy, "was created for export. In practice, it has no power, it's a fiction."

Imperialist aggression serves as an alibi for all kinds of intransigent measures. Just recently, 57 workers of the ENAVES textile enterprise were evicted by the police on the grounds that they were preventing others from working. Pointing out that strikes were now illegal, the Labour Minister authorised the immediate dismissal of those involved. An official of the (Communist) General Confederation of Labour (CGT) denounced the dismissals as a denial of trade union freedoms.

Responsible *La Prensa* sources say that censorship is becoming increasingly nitpicking and arbitrary. The heavy hand of the military and security services can be felt in every area. The security services step in at the slightest hint of a challenge or whenever a group tries to become organised. Whereas Somoza went after the middle-level management, most political prisoners today are not

Continued on page 13

As in Seville in 1982, France's soccer team — still suffering from the efforts it put into the game against Brazil on June 21, which it won — was beaten by West Germany on June 25 in the semi-final of the World Cup Championship in Mexico.

QUADALAJARA — This one Mexico's easy-going *marachi* could well have put into song: "Poor Pancho Villa, what a sad death he met. Dying in an ambush so near journey's end."

Seeing the courageous Luis Fernandez flattened out on the close-cropped grass, twice, thrice, five times as if dealt a deathblow each time; seeing him "do a Jesus" — to borrow Amadeo Domenech's delightful phrase — with his nose in the molehills on the Jalisco stadium, you remembered another *marachi* song, the one about poor Rosita: "Life's not like the grass that sprouts up again every month." Nor are all soccer games.

Poor Rosita, poor Fernandez. Poor France, poor us, Hell, and damnation. To come so far and founder here, within sight of port, on a familiar and simple rock as thick as the grenadier Briegels' trunk, is broad. To defy everything — *lursia*, scorpions, altitude, boredom, sun, separation; to resist everybody — Russians, Italians, Brazilians, red and yellow cards; to speed towards one's adventure without a hitch, without a serious injury, without a defeat; to float on a small pink cloud in Guadalajara's skies, to receive telegrams from the President, the Prime Minister, the Colombey-les-Belles supporters' club and pretty

Pierre Georges sees the French soccer team's exit from the World Cup

nearly from the priest of Saint Cucufi. And all this for what? To end up sent to the bottom in Guadalajara harbour by the best identified of our denigrators, the most ritual of our persecutors. Guadalajara, Seville all over again! We laugh over it like that, because we've got to laugh and after all because we've used to it. We laugh over it as over a disastrous day on which we suffered a disastrous elimination in a disastrous match by a team that was scarcely less disastrous. We laugh over it as over a piece of trickery. There had been deception over the quality of this semifinal, over its freshness.

People say, but we mustn't believe it for there would be a howl from the whole trade, that some fishmongers, when their wares are no longer quite so fresh, smear the gills of endangered fish with a mellow fresh pink colouring. Not having any such colouring, it has to be said that France's team was no longer very fresh. The legs of course, and the wind, and perhaps the head. Our brave little leader players had had enough, they were fed up to the back teeth, as Michel Platini put it.

That was it. France's team was beaten two goals to nil. Even so, the second goal was just for laughs, the manic pleasure of the 91st minute. It was beaten by a stronger team, or rather by the physically less weak of the two, Federal Germany's team. You couldn't

really say, without being quite rash, that the Germans had reinvented football or even the instrument for battering through defences. But at least they have one abiding quality — stamina. Like a wine which has body. They have bulging calves and they don't get tired.

After the match, Franz Beckenbauer put it out modestly and with a nice touch of hypocrisy that he was sorry for the French team. He wasn't, not for a moment. Are you ever sorry when you have a won and qualified for the final, for the second time in a row? Franz Beckenbauer is a lousy diplomat. But what he didn't say and what 50,000 spectators and millions of television viewers would have said in his place is that this semifinal was distressing, a washout, mediocre, boring. In short, unworthy of two teams vying for the supreme triumph.

We can say this the moment the responsibility for it does not fall on the teams themselves. They did what they could with what they had left. The fierce desire to keep chasing the dream and a nagging temptation to end it all. The desire and the incapacity. The World Cup demands too much from teams. Two months of living under a watch glass or in a hothouse. Soccer morning, noon and evening, one game after another, like a spring constantly kept taut which finally loses its tension.

A team cannot with impunity

'Ar in thing goes' in cinema

By K.

Marco Bellocchio's remake 'Braudau'

Raymond Radiguet's celebrated novel "Diable au corps" is banned to filmgoers under 13. In view of some of the scenes in the film, one wonders whether there are any more taboos left in the cinema.

COMING OUT of the showing of Marco Bellocchio's "Diable au corps", where the lovely Maruschka Detmers demonstrates that in love, according to Lacaze's canon, in addition to the great art of speaking there is also the great art of not saying a word, many film critics asked among themselves whether "fellatio" took one or two

Right before our eyes, a taboo had been demolished. The Commission de Contrôle Cinématographique, incorrectly described as a board of "censorship", has in fact banned the film only to under-13s. Where are we going, people ask? Good question, if we knew where we came from in the first place.

It should be remembered that although the board (Commission) took over from the COIC (Comité d'Organisation Cinématographique) which was set up by Vichy, it is not on the face of it a stronghold of conservatism.

The Minister of Culture has the right to overrule its recommendations. The previous minister of culture, Jack Lang, for example, decided against imposing a total ban on a film, which was as good as condemning it to death. As for his successor, François Léotard, we have still not had a chance of judging him.

The board sitting at the Centre National du Cinéma is made up of a wide cross-section of prominent citizens chosen from the realms of psychology, medicine, education and so on. It meets in plenary

session twice a week to see the being proscribed by a sub-committee. It takes a vote and of red, the minister a variety ban (the, ranging from a total ban to a U (or pornography) under 18 X-certificate means it is). An impossible for the film tecton money, since it relegates it to circuit in specific cinemas of 40 cinemas in France, 80 are reserved for pornographic films. There is also an X certificate for violent films, but it is rarely used, the ban on under-18s being sufficient.

If we move away from violence, where the board is rightly vigilant in view of the proliferation of frankly sadistic films we can pick out in the sexual area eroticism, where "anything" can be shown so long as it is simulated, and pornography, where authentic sexual acts are explicitly depicted. Sequences showing copulation — which have nothing really to do with the plot of the story — are also considered pornographic.

With the passage of time, subjects have become "freer". Incest and homosexuality can now be raised and the pictures accompanying this trend are increasingly more explicit. Where is the limit today? No longer even in male erections, but rather in violence, drugs, prostitution and generally speaking on everything suggesting a degradation of the human being. The paradox of all this being that the more eyes are opened in the cinema, the more doctors hold congresses to advise us to lead chaste lives.

(June 27)

Old men on tired legs

Pierre Georges sees the French soccer team's exit from the World Cup

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play three top-level games in the course of a week. From one Tuesday to Wednesday week, France's team had to meet Italy, Brazil and Federal Germany — a rather trying triad. True, the regulations apply to everybody and there are no grounds for contesting them after the event. But we can deplore them, express regret. Playing hard, demanding and repeated games at an altitude between 1,500 and 2,000 metres is the most certain way of obtaining what we got, what we suffered on Wednesday — a game all wrinkled like an old apple.

France's is an old team. It had sufficient skill, technique and expertise in covering up to successfully conceal that fact until that moment. Then with the fatigue, the physical and moral weariness, aided by Brazil (for the players had not got over that match), the French players all looked old, tattered out and pretty clumsy. They are not usually like that. But a World Cup is not a normal time. As you came away from the ground which had become completely, but belatedly Francophile, you heard people saying what a load of rubbish. Good souls who said the French players were too sure of making it to the top, that they had swollen heads, that they underestimated their adversaries' square skulls, that they were making a great song and dance about crushing through their flank to wreak easy revenge for Seville.

Things are so much simpler. They were not so much puffed up as pooped. Like racing cyclists, they just couldn't negotiate the last pass at Guadalajara. And it's nothing scandalous or appalling. The misfortune had befallen others in the Mundial — USSR, Denmark, Spain, Italy.

Besides, was the West German team in much better shape than France's? The German players were lucky to score first. In this disastrous part of the game they scored what was obviously a disastrous goal. A very bad mistake by Josi Bats who let the ball through. Admittedly Andreas Brehme's kick was a cannonball.

This goal from a free kick (in the tenth minute) as it were condemned the more tired of the two teams to run after the match, to engage in an uphill battle. It was an encouragement to the other side. Hold on to the advantage, counterattack; that was obviously the tactic. And these German players did just that, though without brilliance, but without letting up.

In short, everything has been said, and the only regret one could have is to see the French side leaving the Mundial the way it entered it — in felt slippers and crippled by rheumatism. It's not a picture that squares with its qualities and its success here. No, it is the exit hoped for by several of its members who certainly were winning the World Cup time. This misfortune is shared, a few Brazilians too, the 30-year-olds for example. But that's consolation.

(June 27)

Surrealism swept through all the arts like a storm and if it has not disappeared today without leaving behind the efforts of one man, André Breton, it died 20 years ago and was consecrated. It was not even a believer.

An exhibition organised by Jean-Marie Dunoyer brings together the objects of Breton. These and 300 pictures, pays homage to Dunoyer points "votive offerings" are, as Jean-Marie Dunoyer points out, the visible part of the fundamental basis working deep underground, of modern awareness. In federation, during half Autocratic and a fully prospected, accompanied a century Breton the waves of the surrealist and followed the

The 'pope' of surrealism and his converts

By Jean-Marie Dunoyer

"THE NUCLEUS of the surrealist comet which swept through the 20th century..." says José Pierre, describing André Breton. The author of "Madia" would have been 88 on February 18 and September 28 will see the 20th anniversary of his death.

Without Breton, without his uncompromising vigilance and his often irritating intolerance, the surrealist comet, whatever the talents and even genius of the group's members, would have quickly scattered. Culling him pope of surrealism was meant to be derisive. A more apt title could hardly have been found.

An infallible pontiff? He behaved like one. May his spirit pardon us if (according to what rites?) we rediscover his real presence at the centre of the exhibition, in this red room in which his secret museum has been reconstituted, his familiar world, the objects of his personality cut shot through with magical powers.

It was, of course, necessary to submit to a whole initiatory itinerary, and you will not be surprised that José Pierre has based it on the fine arts. For are these votive offerings not the visible tip of a movement which did its work in depth on the fundamental facts of modern awareness? It is doubtless putting the emphasis on the aesthetic aspect of an action which willy-nilly set out to be ethical. But art thrives on misunderstandings.

Marcel Duchamp is here, in the company of others to testify to the fact that before the 1924 "Manifeste" was published there was more than one painter who

movement which even before the publication of the 1924 "Manifeste" rallied creative people from every sphere under the banner of the dream.

The pioneers are represented in the exhibition — Gustave Moreau, Henri Rousseau ("Le Douanier") and Victor Hugo (Breton pronounced Hugo to be a "surrealist when he's not stupid"), one of whose astonishing wash drawings can be seen at the Artcurial.

Of course, the major artists of the pioneering surrealist group have not been omitted, ranging from Max Ernst to Man Ray, from Yves Tanguy to Francis Picabia. Nor have the artists who briefly passed through the surrealist phase been forgotten — Klee and Kandinsky. And Picasso, who maintained

a special relationship with Breton despite the "bad company" the painter kept, served as a bridge to the second wave formed by René Magritte, André Masson and Salvador Dali.

During the war, Breton recruited sufficient numbers to form a third wave — citizens of the "conquered Americas" like Marshall Calder, Arshile Gorky and Roberto Matta.

Battling endlessly to make sure the irrational was re-established in all its manifestations, Breton pursued his adventure right up to his death. An adventure which is the total justification of this fine exhibition. Our particular thanks for which are due to Julien Gracq, who has made of André Breton "a hero of our times."



Salvador Dalí's 'The Labyrinthine Game'.

creations. Breton's adventure, tenaciously pursued over a good 50 years, was worth the experience and justifies the thanks of Julien Gracq who has turned him into "a hero of our times". "L'aventure surréaliste autour d'André Breton", at the Artcurial, 9 Avenue Matignon, Paris. Until July 31. Catalogue cum-book by José Pierre with an introduction by Robert Lebel. Editions Filipacchi-Artcurial.

Sandinistas crack down on all opposition

Continued from page 11

bosses, but grassroots activists. While estimates of their number vary, the National Assembly has received over 2,000 petitions seeking pardon solely for political prisoners condemned to between three and six years in jail and who have served half their terms.

The people are kept strictly in line by the Sandinista Defence Committees (CDS) which Minister of the Interior Tomás Borge described as "the eyes and ears of the revolution". Organised on a neighbourhood basis and modelled on the Cuban example, the CDS serve as a channel for passing down the regime's directives.

The other parties criticise them for not operating democratically, for encouraging informers and currying out political proscriptions. Many Nicaraguans complain that minor CDS heads or officials are abusing their positions by forcing them to attend Sandinista meetings or in the distribution of ration cards and even the allocation of housing. "The CDS are constantly

blackmailing the people, especially at a time of shortages," noted Socialist Party member Julio Morales.

The discontent has grown with worsening supply problems and the continued economic stagnation. "We have shortages of everything" is one phrase heard everywhere. Cooking oil, sugar, rice and soap are rationed. There are severe shortages of medicines and spare parts. But everything can be obtained, including petrol, at prohibitive black-market prices. The austerity plan decreed in 1985 in a bid to combat speculation did nothing to help. On the contrary, it caused the prices of staple products, until then subsidised, to soar.

Customers at the Ciudad Jardín supermarket have to identify themselves, that is to produce their ration cards, to enter. Long queues form at shelves offering detergents and Polish-made soap powder. The shelves are half empty and offer tins of Soviet sardines or canned meat from Bulgaria. The Sandinista leaders them-

selves acknowledge that the "economic situation is becoming more tragic every day". The lack of foreign currency for importing equipment and raw materials is leading to a growing industrial paralysis. The production of beans, corn and rice has substantially diminished. Herds are also dwindling. "Throughout their history," pointed out Tablada, "the Nicaraguan people had been able to produce their basic food."

With the State apparatus growing ever larger, another scourge has taken on disquieting proportions — corruption. In fact a year ago a special commission was set up to combat it. The government sees it primarily as something inherited from the Somoza dictatorship, but the leftwing and rightwing Opposition challenge that analysis.

In the view of Avance, the organ of the Communist Party, which is independent of Moscow, "the basic cause of corruption lies in the Sandinista Front's conception of government". As examples, the magazine points to the salaries of

government members and senior government servants which are "kept secret" and the privileges they enjoy. A Social-Christian Party official said this was caused by the emergence of a "group of favoured people in the society, especially those who occupy leading positions in the ruling party."

The people feel the weight of the sacrifices imposed on them all the more keenly as there is a minority which couldn't care less. While the bulk of the population scrapes around to make ends meet, a new nomenclature does its shopping in special stores.

"Everything for the war, everything for the combatants." The defence effort is No. 1 priority.

While the economy is going to the dogs, the army and the security services are functioning far more efficiently. With more than 100,000 men under arms, Nicaragua has by far the biggest army in Central America. Well equipped by the Soviet Union and officered by Cuban advisers it has never before seriously stretched by the 15,000 contras it is fighting.

"Insidiously but surely," commented an intellectual, "the Sandinistas are in the process of squandering the vast fund of sympathy the revolution managed to garner in its early days and even, to a certain extent, in the 1984 elections. We conducted this revolution so as to be masters of our own destiny. But these fanatical fops who were only a minority have presumptuously appropriated the key posts as to do as they like. By their obstinacy, they are dragging us into an East-West confrontation; they want to commit us to an open war against the United States. Without paying attention to either the situation of Central America or the burden that an army of 100,000 represents for a small country of barely 3 million people, they are dreaming of a new Vietnam so as to test their theories."

With little consideration for the reservations of a public kept in line, the Sandinista commanders seem to have deliberately chosen to run before the storm.

(June 24)

East German youth finds a relative taste of freedom in Prague

PRAGUE'S beer-halls, the stamping ground of the Good Soldier Schweik, have long been celebrated as a kind of free zone where ordinary citizens, after a glass or two of Czech beer (an excellent brew), can vent their ire against those in authority, whoever they may be. U Fleku, the city's oldest beer-hall, has recently become the rallying point of young non-conformists from East Germany.

PRAGUE — The arrival of spring is always welcomed by Prague's inhabitants, as it provides them with their first opportunity to jump into their Skodas and do some gardening or odd jobs in their country dachas. But it is also an event that is greeted with jubilation on the other side of the Erzgebirge mountains which separate the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic from the German Democratic Republic.

Dresden, East Berlin and even Rostock on the Baltic are agog with the news that the River Vltava (the Moldau immortalised by Bedrich Smetana) is bathed in sunshine, and that at U Fleku they have put the tables out in the courtyard.

Why, you may ask, is news of Prague's most celebrated beer-hall of such compelling interest to the citizens of East Germany? The answer is simple: Czechoslovakia is the only foreign country that East German nationals may visit without having to procure a visa, the only State whose border they may cross armed simply with their ordinary identity card.

This "anomaly" means that the citizens of the State with the most watertight borders ever devised by man can kill two birds with one stone at little cost: they can enjoy a change of scenery and slake their thirst on the excellent beer that is brewed in Bohemia (claimed by some to be the best in the world).

The beer-hall which everyone makes for, and which was once frequented by such famous names as Rainer Maria Rilke, Franz Kafka and Egon Erwin Kisch, is U Fleku. For over 500 years, the Flek family have been brewing strong, dark ale that is sold and drunk only on their own premises.

After consulting a guide to Prague's best beer-halls, I paid a visit to U Fleku, which is located in a nondescript street in the Nové Mesto quarter. A curious sight met my eyes when I walked through the establishment's Gothic door and into its large inner courtyard: some 600 young people, most of them men, with a sprinkling of women and children, seemed to have set up house there for the weekend.

It did not matter that with their long hair and faded blue jeans they had a slightly dated air: they had come to commune with one another and celebrate their non-conformism, their repudiation of the East German model of society.

There was, it seemed to me, only one false note. These young people, who had rejected the blue uniform of the East German Communist Youth, had opted for a similar

sartorial uniformity — in only a slightly different shade of blue — which destroyed their individuality in precisely the same way as the regime they despised.

For a moment I wondered whether I had not wandered into a den of "hooligans," as drop-outs are known here. But any such doubts were soon allayed when I set down and struck up a conversation with the people at the same table, who had kindly squeezed up against each other even more tightly to make room for me.

By Luc Rosenzweig

Jürgen, a locksmith from Magdeburg, said: "Ninety-nine per cent of the people drinking here have come from the GDR. You see, Prague is a kind of ersatz Munich for us. Every year we dream of going to the Oktoberfest — and end up in Prague."

Jürgen's three days off work were put to good use. First he had spent eight hours on the train that crawls through Prussia, Saxony and Bohemia. He had then had to find lodgings in some distant suburb of Prague — central hotels are reserved for customers who pay in hard currency, such as West Germans, French and British.

East German tourists have to eke out the meagre local currency allowance they get from the au-

thorities (the equivalent of £11 per person). Some prefer to do without accommodation at all: every evening, scores of young people who have blown all their cash on several dozen beers at U Fleku can be seen in Prague's modern railway station sprawled on their duvets and waiting to take the train home the following morning.

Jürgen and his friends were keen to look at my copy of the West German daily, the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung. One roly-poly young fellow who was a little the worse for wear sobbed up for a moment as he eagerly scanned the paper, which although written in his own language was so strange to him it might just as well have been written in double Dutch.

He was fascinated by the advertisements, and in particular by the offer of a special cut-price trip to Canada. "What if one of us sent in the application form?" His quip fell rather flat. More beers were ordered from one of U Fleku's many efficient waiters, and the conversation drifted on to the next-best thing to the Seychelles available to the East Berlin worker — a sun-drenched package holiday in Bulgaria.

One of the drinkers asked if French young people also wore long hair. He seemed very disappointed to learn that the fashion had changed and that really trendy Frenchmen now preferred "short back and sides."

"Our long hair is the only way

we have of protesting against the State," said Jürgen. People like him have not yet outgrown the spirit of May 1968 because they never really lived through it. Perhaps that explains why the East Germans are not all alienated on meeting their equivalent in West Germany, who numbers que in similarly large they do nothingtime. They find them, as they much to say to worlds and live in different wavelengths. different

You can do things which are not allowed by Prague regime in East Germany's strict write a letter to your fah as West German disc jockey. In the Berlin you can listen to his pgramme but not post him a letter. From time to time the police drop by to make sure that things are not getting out of hand at U Fleku. The young East Germans are not worried by Czech policemen, for they are used to having to deal with cops made of harder stuff, their own Vopos, who can close down a bar in less time than it takes to bark *Polizeistunde* (which indicates that everyone must go home quietly).

Despite the austerity of Czech socialism, East Germans on the binge seem to find Prague especially congenial. For them, U Fleku still possesses the charm of a world where the spirit of the Good Soldier Schweik lives on. The boozers and loudmouths with immortalised by Erwin Piscator seems to be egging them on to use the best weapon of the weak in the face of the oppressor: wit and sarcasm.

Paris delegates get grim warning on Aids spread

TWO THOUSAND five hundred participants, including many Africans, 200 papers presented at meetings, 700 others elected to special committees. The success of the Paris aid congress demonstrates the worldwide awareness of this growing problem.

The congress, chaired by Prof. Jean-Claude Gluckman and Prof. Luc Montagnier, has been jointly organised with the World Health Organisation which has just published a report on Aids.

As of March 31, 1986, there were 60,000 Aids cases in Africa, 22,500 in the United States and 2,542 in the 17 European states in the West and the East which are cooperating with a special centre set by WHO (altogether 29 countries are members of this centre, the latest to join being East Germany, Israel and Romania).

Since 1981, Aids cases have been increasing at an annual rate of 163 per cent in Europe. It is further thought that in North America, between 20 and 30 per cent of Aids-induced deaths are not reported as such for various sociopsychological reasons.

Aids has become the leading cause of death among men between the ages of 30 and 39 in New York City and the US Department of Health estimates that in five years the US will have 145,000 Aids cases (13,000 of them children) with 55,000 deaths a year, which is well above the annual number of road deaths (45,000 in 1985).

Up to March 31 this year, there were 707 Aids cases and 320 deaths from the disease; ten new cases of Aids are diagnosed every week. Most of those affected are homosexual or bisexual (68 per cent), but between 60 and 75 per cent of haemophiliacs have been infected through blood transfusions and 50

Over two thousand delegates last week attended the International Congress on Aids (Acquired Immunity Deficiency Syndrome) at the Palais des Congrès in Paris, which will be followed by a world congress on sexually transmissible diseases. The latest statistics show the extent and rate of growth of what has become one of the most worrying public health problems of this century.

Africa has 50,000 sufferers and two million others are carriers. In the United States, 22,500 people are suffering from Aids and between one and two million more carry the virus. Europe has a total of 2,542 Aids victims, with 707 of them in France — the worst affected European country — where 100,000 to 200,000 are carriers.

Far from being contained as had been hoped, the Aids epidemic is steadily expanding. Apparently no continent, not a single country in the East or West, North or South has been spared by this retrovirus which clearly came into being in the heart of the equatorial forest and whose destructive effects have been carried to the four corners of the earth as a result of sexual promiscuity and the intercontinental movement of people.

The US Department of Health estimates that in five years that country will have 145,000 Aids cases (13,000 of them young children) and that the death rate from Aids will be higher than the road accident toll. In Europe, the rate of increase of Aids cases has been 163 per cent in a year.

The extraordinarily high cost of treating Aids victims sets a serious problem for all the nations concerned. Already in North America, it exceeds the aggregate cost of treating all other infectious diseases. It is evident that African countries will not be able to cope with a tragedy on such a scale which in these countries affect as many women and children as men. Given what some people are calling the "potential genocide" of black Africa, Western nations are toying with a project for offering substantial assistance which would presumably be centralised and channelled by the World Health Organisation. Funds obtained from the sale of Aids screening packs would apparently be used for this purpose.

If the plan materialises, it could put an end to the rivalry between the French and Americans who are engaged in a ludicrous fratricidal struggle in the face of a tragedy which should be mobilising all the resources of modern science.

per cent of drug addicts as a result of sharing syringes. Statistics provided by blood transfusion centres (which now routinely screen all donors for the virus) show there are between 100,000 and 200,000

By Dr Claudine Escoffier-Lambotte

French citizens who have been infected.

The number of infected persons in the United States is 2 million, and it is higher still in Africa where meagre health budgets for the moment rule out taking any protective screening measures. President Ronald Reagan recently gave \$2 million to WHO to help set up such preventive measures. This sum is equivalent to the income obtained from patents

on the screening tests — income which the French and the Americans are quarrelling over.

Apart from the physical and psychological suffering that the disease entails, its economic effects on the countries concerned are considerable.

A study of the first 10,000 cases reported in the United States shows that the cost of caring for them was as high as \$6.3 billion, and that they took up a total of 1.6 million hospital days, usually in intensive care units. Compared with this, the treatment of lung cancer in the US cost \$1.6 billion (a quarter of the cost of Aids cases) and road accidents victims \$6.7 billion. By now the cost of Aids alone is equal to and has even overtaken the total US health budget for all other infectious

Continued on page 14

WHEN he was President, Valéry Giscard d'Estaing used to keep saying that the French wanted to be governed "at the centre". He was even heard to say privately that it would be a "tragedy" if the Socialists did not enter the Majority — his Mitterrand — during his Presidency. All that the "tragedy" did not take place. But the fact remains, judged by the overall trend of opinion polls, which do indeed arrange, that the "centre" as an aspiration to be governed. Even if the logic of Giscard d'Estaing's ant on universal suffrage, to what extent, by that very fact, French are seen into two.

The mind, but tends to see only state-riding and simplicity in what is more the reflection of an immense richness with the civil war, whether it is a body or verbal, of a growing scepticism about men and ideologies that reality has too often contradicted, and of the conviction that only if we are united can we face squarely the challenges of a world less inclined than ever to make us any concessions. After all, wasn't this the spirit of the "coming together" that was tirelessly preached and extolled by De Gaulle who had no qualms about making ministers of state of such men as Maurice Thorez (Communist) in 1945 and Guy Mollet (Socialist) in 1958?

Cohabitation (power-sharing), such as it is practised today, is of course only an imitation of union. General de Gaulle held all the cards. The present diarchy can take no other course but refrain from bringing about a mutual erosion of the powers with which it is linked. As a result, it has to be said for it that it is curbing the tendency ingrained in our history which so easily makes us ardent champions of one rival "ism" after another until the foreseeable defeat of one prompts us to rediscover the other's charms.

Five years ago, most French people thought they had found the answer to everything in socialism. They were going to wipe out unemployment, take the country into the modern era and, to cut a long story short, not modify society as Jacques Chaban-Delmas (under Georges Pompidou's Presidency) in his determined way attempted to do, but replace it with another. The disappointment was as great as the illusion, even if the Socialist government's conversion to the facts of running the country demonstrated there was an undeniable capacity for wise government within the left.

Liberalism is the fashion today. Its apostles had not always preached this gospel. Neither Giscard d'Estaing, nor Jacques Chirac nor Raymond Barre behaved in a particularly liberal fashion when they were in power. Apart from the fact that France did not wait for Colbert to become Colbertist, the characters and ideas of these men were forged after the Liberation, that is, at a time when, in the light of the 1929

It's time for our leaders to adopt a little more humility

By André Fontaine

crisis and the terrible war it led to, the inadequacy of individualism and free movement was thought to be a self-evident truth. We knew very well it took Roosevelt's command policy and his National Recovery Act to lift the American people out of the despair in which they had let themselves be bogged down and put them in a condition that without the Marshall Plan and the Monnet Plan France would never have succeeded in rising up from its ruin. Keynes seemed to have quite definitely taken over from Adam Smith; Friedrich von Hayek was preaching in the desert and no one in Europe challenged the validity of a large-scale system of social protection.

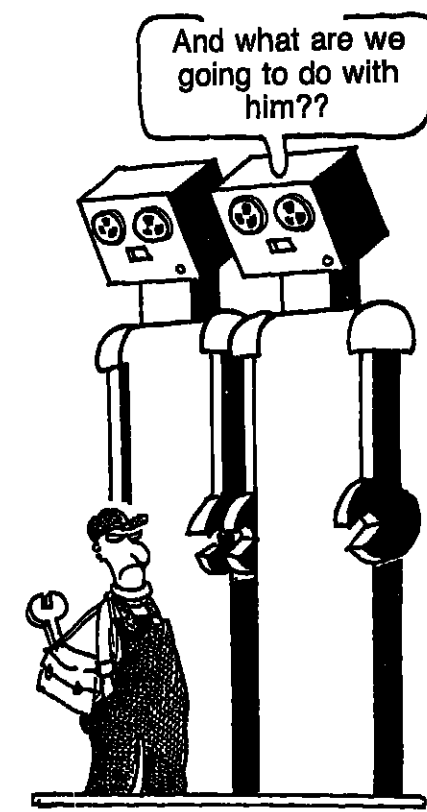
For the trend to reverse direction, it was not enough for the left to lose its main battle on employment, there had to be an alternative model. The present liberal fashion would be inconceivable without Reagan's success which has made people lose sight of the reverses suffered by another liberal, Margaret Thatcher. It is this same Reagan, whom scarcely anyone in France took seriously before his election, who has today become a practically infallible beacon for a segment of public opinion in this country.

But the core element that too many of our neo-liberals fail to take into consideration when they claim to be Reaganist is that his economic credo counts for less in his success than the media phenomenon he represents. After two decades of humiliations, the United States chose as their leader an all-round champion in the communications field, a winner, a Tapie (Bernard Tapie, a bustling entrepreneur who has made a name for himself by taking over ailing companies and turning them around), a political Rambo whose looks have in no way been marred by his age. What he symbolises primarily is national pride, and with him the reconciliation of a whole nation which needs to believe in its "manifest destiny", in its capacity for pushing back ever farther the frontiers of its ambitions.

It is this ambition, this refund pride, this confidence in the President which is at the heart of the American recovery, as much as an admittedly necessary deregulation but which alone would not have succeeded in helping a discouraged people to take off. It is in their name that the American State, liberal though it may be, has passed on orders in the armaments and space sectors, orders which have been instrumental in reactivating production. But the Challenger tragedy as well as recent setbacks with rocket launchers are there to show that

combining the two mainstays of national ambition and freedom of enterprise is not enough to automatically give a competitive edge in the rivalry with a system, as incredibly bureaucratic and cumbersome as that of the USSR, which has quite clearly forged ahead in the space race. And if people do still speak of the Strategic Defence Initiative, so as not to upset Reagan, is there anyone who still believes it will ever provide the United States with that impenetrable shield it was supposed to deploy in space?

There are a good many other shortcomings on the other side of the Reaganist picture — the inadequacy of social protection; the impoverishment of too many poor people; substantial unemploy-



ment among Blacks; illiteracy; crime, which restoring the death penalty is not preventing from reaching proportions far in excess of ours; the budget deficit (when he was

running for the Presidency, Reagan promised to go back to balanced budgets) and a foreign trade deficit which for the first time in this century has turned the United States into a net debtor nation; and even more, of course, the enormous indebtedness of client states, like Mexico; this is the real Damocles' sword hanging over the entire world economy.

Recalling these facts, which the apostles of liberalism are rather too apt to lose sight of, does not mean pleading for a return to yesterday's illusions. It is merely a warning against the illusions that are so frequently expressed today. Less government, less regulation, less bureaucracy? Why, of course. Which Socialist wouldn't agree with that? More incentives to private initiative? Certainly. But all the same, let's not throw the baby out with the bathwater. Let's not lose sight of the fact that in a country as centralised as ours, with an administration whose influence and cohesion have only been further strengthened by the existence of the ENA (École Nationale d'Administration, which turns out the State's super civil servants) — which has never before been so extensively represented in the government as it is today — the State has nearly always played a key role in providing direction and dynamism to the economy, not to mention research, in which by some tragic peculiarity it appears to be less and less interested. Even the most liberal entrepreneurs are the first to look to the State when they do not know where else to turn.

There is something else. Not everybody is like that, and surely not Jacques Chirac nor his Minister of Social Affairs (Philippe Seguin), but too many of our new leaders appear to have a pretty hazy idea of what life is like in the world today for the unemployed, the poor, the spurned, the humiliated and the down-and-outs. Let them not forget that the advances made by European society over the last 100 years consisted primarily of better defending the weak against the powerful, even if such protection occasionally did take discouraging and even ridiculous turns.

In this area, there are gestures which have a symbolic value. The wealth tax was admittedly ill-conceived, and the requirement of preliminary administrative authorisation for laying off staff obviously did not encourage hiring. But were there not more urgent priorities than doing away with both these? The negative reaction brought to light by opinion polls is significant on this point. Nothing would be more tragic, not only for the experiment now under way but for the nation, than to give the impression that one social class, whose privileges were at one time under threat, is seeking revenge on another, and that money will once again have the final say in everything, including the media. Unfortunately, it is not by rushing to forget and forgive people who flouted tax regulations or the ban on taking capital out of the country that this impression is going to be corrected.

(June 25)

the world to get an idea of the extent of the epidemic in Africa.

"We know today," he said "that Aids is rampant nearly all over Africa." Right from the moment he began reading his paper, the delegates at the Palais des Congrès sensed that the "law of silence" which had been imposed on the

By Frank Nouchi

subject for nearly five years by leading African governments was going to be broken. "The significance of the Aids problem in Africa hasn't still been clearly grasped for several reasons, the principal one being the wilful or unwitting indifference shown by some countries towards Aids."

In spite of that, explained Dr Kapita, it was possible to get some idea of the infection's real impact. "East Africa (Kenya, Rwanda, Uganda) and more southerly parts of the continent (Zambia, Malawi) show a high frequency — from 8 to 23 per cent — compared with the central and western part of Africa (Zaire, Congo, Central Africa, Senegal) where the frequency varies between 4 and 6 per cent." On the whole, he added, "the sero-positive frequency for Aids in general is

around 6 per cent." This means that six out of 100 Africans have already been infected by the virus. In Kinshasa, for example, out of a population of 3 million, 128,000 people have so far been infected and are thus contagious.

As for the number who will subsequently develop clinically recognised Aids, Dr Kapita admitted it was difficult to make a precise calculation, but thought that between "one and two per cent of asymptomatic sero-positive cases would go on to develop Aids within a year".

This hidden or latent epidemic poses a threat mostly to women with several male partners, the men they have sexual relations with, poor people, people who have received blood transfusions from unknown donors, and children exposed to heavy or accidental infection. Aids is an urban disease and in Africa it affects as many men (average age: 34) as women (average age: 29). In the Rwandan capital of Kigali 18 per cent of the population is sero-positive. The corresponding figure for Kinshasa is 6.6 per cent.

In certain high-risk groups, the figures go very high. According to

Dr Kapita, 89 per cent of the prostitutes in Kigali are sero-positive; the corresponding figures are 59 per cent for Nairobi and 27 per cent for Kinshasa.

African Aids is clinically different from Western Aids. It is distinguished in particular by some common symptoms such as weight loss, fever and diarrhoea.

Another point raised by Dr Kapita was the origins of the disease. "The origins of the causal agent are unknown," he said, "but we think the causal agent was introduced or emerged around 1975." That said, there is nothing to show that Africa is the cradle of Aids.

Dr Kapita's paper was a bombshell, particularly as he was speaking without the authorisation of Zaire's Health Ministry.

(June 25)

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The Washington Post

Congress Votes For Surrogate War On Nicaragua

By Joanne Omang

WASHINGTON — The U.S. House of Representatives in effect declared limited, surrogate war on Nicaragua's leftist Sandinista government last week, voting to give President Reagan the funding, the tools and the political support he has been seeking for four years. The 221-to-208 decision, almost certain to be ratified by the Senate in July, was appropriately narrow for an issue that has split the nation's policymakers as have few others since Vietnam. But it came cleanly, after bitter, lengthy and excruciatingly detailed debate, and it provided a wholesale commitment.

No one contends that \$100 million in new aid will give the counter-revolutionaries, or contras, military victory over the Sandinistas or bring peace to the region. The question is whether the House vote will be the turning point that ends the fundamental policy debate, as did Congress's 1984 decision to aid President Jose Napoleon Duarte of nearby El Salvador. U.S. interest in El Salvador now focuses on whether the

policy is working, rather than on what the policy should be. Whether that will be the case in Nicaragua appears to hang on the contras' military performance after military aid starts on September 1. The House agreed that Reagan may use the Central Intelligence Agency, the Defense Department and any other agency he pleases to provide the contras with \$70 million in arms, training, transport and advice and \$30 million in food, clothing and medicine. Democratic nations in the region will receive \$800 million in economic aid, and all of it will be subject to strict — but confidential — accounting practices.

There were all-night parties in the rebels' jungle camps, while squabbling contra factions here found common cause and embraced. With Congress committed, they felt themselves becoming an irresistible force. In a year, "we will be seeing cracks in the Sandinista structure," predicted Alfonso Robelo, one of three top contra leaders.

The Sandinistas responded by swearing to become an immovable object. They retaliated, closing down the only critical newspaper and vowing redoubled defiance to U.S. demands. "To war you respond with war," President Daniel Ortega declared.

To win, administration officials had to overcome critics' charges that the contras were puppets of the CIA, hopelessly divided, inept and leaderless; that they were corrupt and involved in drug traffic, and that they had committed major human rights violations that cost them popular support. After lengthy negotiations, contra leaders announced unity and said their ranks were open to all, such as Eden "Commander Zero" Pastora, who has so far refused to join. They promised to hold a leadership selection convention.

The administration issued a point-by-point rebuttal of House Foreign Affairs subcommittee charges that earlier aid might

have been diverted, and Senate Republican leaders promised a vote on whether to use subpoenas to probe other, more serious allegations of drug trafficking and gun-running.

The contras set up their own human rights office. The new aid will provide funds for that office, a congressional bipartisan monitoring commission, a six-member accounting team and military training that stresses human rights. Rebel leaders insisted they welcome all congressional investigation and will be open to media scrutiny, and they said that despite the lack of U.S. military aid for more than two years, their ranks have swelled to nearly 20,000.

The administration also had to deal with U.S. public opinion polls that show 62 percent opposed to contra aid and supporting negotiations instead. Two weeks before the House vote, the Contadora peace talks, approaching and withdrawing from a treaty agreement with tide-like regularity, broke down spectacularly. Latin demo-

crats or silent, previously opposed to contra aid, began democratic Nicaragua establish a new treaty.

Lobbyists then members that policed House majority of voters to show the Central America and migrant of that issue. Why debate thing on tion in Congress again new member, just before the elections, and Democrats' alternative bill would have required?

All aides acknowledge that Reagan's House victory may be transitory. Additional aid, which no one denies will be requested, will hinge on whether the contras clean up their act and make military progress, and whether that in turn pushes Nicaragua toward democratic reforms. "Believe me, you will face this issue again and again as long as you're in the House," Minority Leader Robert H. Michel, R-Ill., told party colleagues the morning of the vote. "You'd better understand that and join now, because this isn't going to go away."

Administration Dismisses Decision

By Jonathan Karp

THE REAGAN administration dismissed the World Court's ruling that the United States violated international law by supporting rebels fighting the Nicaraguan government. "Today's opinion demonstrates what we have stated all along: the court is simply not equipped to deal with a case of this nature involving complex facts and intelligence information," State Department spokesman Charles Redman said on the basis of a preliminary review of the ruling.

"Nicaragua is engaged in a substantial, unprovoked and unlawful use of force against its neighbors," Redman told reporters. "The United States has assisted the victims' response to Nicaragua's intervention."

White House spokesman Larry Speakes said President Reagan "wouldn't have any comment" on the ruling now, and officials said the State Department would handle the U.S. response.

On the possibility that the court would order the United States to pay damages to Managua, Redman said, "The court's decisions are not self-enforcing. It doesn't have the power to order anything." Any effort to enforce the ruling would have to go through the United Nations Security Council, where the United States has veto power.

Senator Charles McC Mathias, R-Md., a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, was quoted as saying, "I view the decision with concern and some sadness. The United States has historically supported the world court, even helping to create it."

International law experts were divided over whether the ruling cast the United States or the court in the worst light. "The United States loses ground even if the judges were completely wrong," John Lawrence Hargrove, execu-

tive director of the American Society of International Law, told United Press International.

At the Nicaraguan embassy, Ambassador Carlos Tunnerman Bernheim hailed the decision and said it would undermine the administration's efforts to support the rebels, which was reinvigorated when the House passed Reagan's \$100 million contra aid package. The ambassador was joined by two American lawyers who, as part of Nicaragua's legal team, announced Nicaragua would ask for more than \$1 billion in damages.

Although the World Court has no power to enforce its decisions, the lawyers, Harvard Law Professor Abram Chayes and Washington attorney Paul Reichler, said the decision will validate Nicaragua's claim for monetary compensation for deaths and injuries, property destroyed, and damage to the economy.

U.S. Ends Security Guarantees to N. Zealand

By Don Oberdorfer

MANILA — The United States is withdrawing its security umbrella from New Zealand because of its refusal to accept port calls by nuclear-armed U.S. warships, Secretary of State George P. Shultz said last week. "We part as friends but we part as enemies as far as the alliance is concerned," said Shultz to New Zealand Prime Minister David Lange after a 40-minute meeting that tried but failed to resolve deepening differences over the meaning of the 1951 ANZUS treaty.

The action was prompted by impending parliamentary action in New Zealand to put into law its ban on nuclear-armed or nuclear-powered ships. Lange, whose New Zealand Labor Party has taken an unyielding anti-nuclear position since coming to power in July 1984, predicted the U.S. action would have a "short and spectacular" effect at home.

New Zealanders will ask whether they are now subject to Soviet attack without anyone com-

ing to their defense, Lange said. He suggested the answer is that nothing much has changed, saying that ANZUS was "the ultimate cop-out treaty" because it only called for consultations in case of military threat and did not guarantee protection.

U.S. officials said no immediate changes in fleet operations are expected because the U.S. Navy will no longer be protecting New Zealand; no Soviet threat is in sight. "The people of New Zealand are not afraid," without U.S. defense, declared Lange. "They don't see a nuclear weapons defense of New Zealand as a security assurance — they don't see, being defended by nuclear weapons as any sort of assurance."

The refusal of New Zealand to accept U.S. nuclear warships, which rarely call at its ports anyway, has been taken seriously rather than as a petty irritation primarily because the Reagan administration fears that the anti-nuclear policy could spread, unless

firmly rebuffed. In February 1985, following New Zealand's firm refusal to accept a proposed naval port call unless Washington indicated whether the ship was carrying nuclear weapons, nearly all joint exercises, intelligence sharing and other military cooperation was halted by Washington. The United States has long refused to confirm or deny whether its ships carry nuclear weapons.

Shultz, at a press conference to conclude two days of meetings with Southeast Asian and Pacific community states, said New Zealand's nuclear ship ban had withdrawn an "essential element" of its participation in the ANZUS treaty alliance. "In the light of this, the United States considers that the treaty, at least as it has been understood, doesn't apply in the sense of the responsibility of the United States to extend its security responsibility to New Zealand," Shultz said.

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Next In Nicaragua

BY TRAVELLING a very small distance. He needed only a few additional votes in the R. them. With this result he moves from a resistance. Unfortunately to a situation with a whole new and condition of sinking and losses: from a wasting or at best a riskier range of postscript.

Politically, Mr. Democratic-controlled House toward it. Now he has moving a Helms case the line: 61 Democrats supported his position pulled the Helms case of their leadership. For the president the Helms case, which he celebrates as a triumph of arms vote. For the Democrats the vote is a party-fracturing event bipartisanship will have over its search for a post-Vietnam identity whoquest for a 1988 presidential nominee.

Foreign policy terms, the United States is now in a strange position. newly committed to a war against a government with which it is not ally at war and with which it observes diplomatic relations. It is doing so, moreover, not only with congressional consent but in the noonday sun. No longer is there the slightest bow, as there was when the United States funded the contras early in the first Reagan term, to the discretion once associated with CIA operations.

It may be argued that American support of the contras will be the more potent and constant for having been suspended and then renewed in an intense multiyear debate. But there is a problem here: the president and Congress, the Republicans and the 61 Democrats, are agreed on arms aid but not on its purpose. For Mr. Reagan the purpose presumably follows from his pledge to enable the contras "not just to fight and die for freedom but to fight and win freedom." Others who support contra aid, however, do so without expectation of victory but simply to raise the Kremlin's costs of empire, and still others do so to build a position of strength from which to negotiate more effectively.

The excitement of the turnaround may conceal these fissures for a time. But they are likely to emerge later, especially if things do not go well in the field. Mr. Reagan may then have to face the familiar and fateful dilemma of whether to raise the ante, this time perhaps with a direct commitment of American forces, or to cut his losses. Optimists see the Sandinistas buckling. Realists should start thinking about the choices that the president, plainly, has not been thinking about.

Another Israeli Scandal

ISRAEL has another intelligence scandal, following the Pollard espionage case. It seems that the Israeli FBI, called the Shin Bet, killed two Palestinian prisoners, who'd been arrested in a bus hijacking, and then covered it up. The attorney general, who was pressing an investigation, was ousted and his successor then circumvented by a political deal in which the two main parties agreed not to poke further into the Shin Bet's deeds. The president preemptively pardoned the head of the security service and three deputies even before they had been investigated, charged or convicted.

Israel's pride is to live in a condition of war and yet to preserve a democratic, humanistic essence. The Shin Bet scandal savages this claim. It is not hard to understand how a country continually prey to terrorism can be seized by an impulse to strike back. But Israelis insist that they keep that impulse under the restraint of a dedication to the rule of law. This is why, for many Israelis, the cover-up is worse than the killings. The killings are one of those things that can happen in a terrible moment. The cover-up is something that requires connivance by the system, a system that is supposed to deal responsibly with surrenders to terrible moments.

There is a political complication. The Shin Bet scandal occurred, as did the Pollard spying, while Yitzhak Shamir was prime minister. He is currently vice prime minister and, in accordance with an agreement of long standing, is due to take over the No. 1 spot from Shimon Peres in October. The Israeli press suggests that Mr. Shamir, as prime minister, approved the cover-up. Mr. Peres has joined the circle protecting Shin Bet and heading off further inquiry into it. But he is under his Labor Party's fierce pressure to permit an inquiry at least into the part of the affair touching the "political echelon." The "political echelon" is something of a euphemism for Yitzhak Shamir, and the question in Israel now is whether the affair will develop in a way that threatens Mr. Shamir's scheduled "rotation" into office in the fall.

The dark side of this episode is apparent. It is noteworthy, however, that the murders and cover-up have prompted a wave of revulsion in the Israeli public. Many people are deeply troubled by the spectacle of a politically sanctioned police atrocity. Some see it as a source of embarrassment and pollution to which their society is indefinitely consigned by the enmity of most of its neighbors. Others see it as a condition for which Israel itself has some responsibility by virtue of its failure to do everything it could to make a West Bank peace and thereby to end Israel's state of siege. The political conclusions that Israelis draw from this latest intelligence breach could yet become the most important thing about it.

World Court Rules Against U.S.

Continued from page 15

the United States. "The court is not satisfied that all the operations launched by the contra force, at every state of the conflict, reflected strategy and tactics solely devised by the United States," the court ruled. "The court, however, finds it clear that a number of operations were decided and planned, if not actually by United States advisers, then at least in close collaboration with them and on the basis of the intelligence and logistic support which the United States was able to offer."

In addition, the court said, "There is no clear evidence that the United States actually exercised such a degree of control as to justify treating the contras as acting on its behalf. The court finds it clearly established that the United States intended, by its support of the contras, to coerce Nicaragua in respect of matters in which each state is permitted to decide freely and that the intention of the contras themselves was to overthrow the present government of Nicaragua."

Of the 16 issues voted on by the

BEFORE Congress voted military aid to the Nicaraguan armed resistance last week we conducted an interview by cable with the vice president of Nicaragua's Sandinista government, Sergio Ramirez.

You have stated "categorically that Nicaragua's revolution stops at Nicaragua's frontiers. We do not seek to export it and we never shall." Yet Interior Minister Thomas Borge said on July 19, 1981, "This revolution goes beyond the borders." Which Nicaraguan voices should we believe?

There is no basis for you to suggest that Nicaragua has sought to export its revolution. Moreover, the public record shows that the U.S. administration has deliberately misrepresented, for its own political purposes, the statement you attribute to Minister Borge. Let me repeat, categorically, that Nicaragua's revolution stops at Nicaragua's frontiers.

Even congressional opponents of aid to the contras agree that Nicaragua sustains the insurgency in El Salvador with arms, training and other forms of support and that the Salvadoran insurgency, perhaps like the Nicaraguan insurgency, would tend to fade away if there were no outside support. Must we still pretend this is not so?

It is important to remember that the guerrilla war in El Salvador began before there was a revolution in Nicaragua. In fact, as late as 1978 it was widely believed that the Salvadorans would overthrow the Romero Government long before the FSLN would topple Somoza. They have a solid social and political base in El Salvador itself. This is the reason why they have survived for so many years. I should like to add that the U.S. administration has not presented a single piece of convincing evidence to support the charge that Nicaragua is giving material aid to the Salvadoran guerrillas, this in spite of the fact that Nicaragua challenged the U.S. to appear before the World Court to make such a case.

Would you cut off support for the Salvadoran guerrillas if the United States cut off support for Nicaraguan guerrillas? If in your view President Duarte should talk with the Salvadoran opposition, why should you not talk with the Nicaraguan opposition? Or should there be a double standard?

The Salvadoran guerrillas control close to a third of the national territory, and, as I said earlier, they have a strong social and political base. The contras on the other hand are a mercenary army without social or political backing in Nicaragua. They operate from bases outside the country and are pursuing foreign policy objectives of the U.S. administration.

In 1981, the CIA selected Enrique Bermudez, a colonel in Somoza's National Guard, as the chief military commander of its mercenary contra army. Edgar Chamorro, a former contra leader, testified that Adolfo Calero, political leader of the contras, was also

15-man court, nine key issues were passed with a 12 to 3 vote — with Judges Stephen M. Schwelb of the United States, Shigeru Oda of Japan and Sir Robert Jennings of Britain dissenting. Four issues were decided with 14 to 1 votes, with either Justices Oda or Schwelb dissenting. One procedural question received an 11 to 4 vote, and the court concluded with a unanimous vote that "recalls to both parties their obligation to seek a solution to their dispute by peaceful means in accordance with international law."

The Sandinista Argument

handpicked by the CIA. The government of Nicaragua will never negotiate with such mercenaries. However, we are prepared to negotiate with the U.S. administration.

In the Statement of Guatemala of January 14, signed by your foreign minister, approval was given to the Contadora principle of self-determination calling for "establishing at the internal level the system of government that its population as a whole freely decides upon." What changes in your internal structure do you plan in order to make good on this promise?

Nicaragua held elections in November 1984. Seven political parties covering a wide spectrum of political ideologies participated. Sixty-four percent of the Nicaraguans who went to the polls elected Daniel Ortega president and myself vice president. They also elected 83 Sandinista candidates to seats in the 96-member National Assembly. The remaining 83 seats are occupied by representatives of opposition parties.

Observers from all over the world reported that the elections were open, honest and fair. Our commitment to political pluralism, a mixed economy, respect for human rights, regional autonomy

Interview with Sergio Ramirez

for the people of our Atlantic Coast and nonalignment in foreign affairs will be elevated to constitutional principles in the new constitution, which is presently the subject of popular debate and discussion throughout the country. The new constitution will go into effect in January 1987.

On January 30 the six political parties of the internal Nicaraguan opposition proposed a cease-fire, political amnesty, restoration of civil rights and the negotiation of an all-party agreement for new general elections. Why is this proposal, which seems manifestly fair to many people, not satisfactory to you?

This might seem manifestly fair to the contras and their foreign supporters. It would not be fair to the Nicaraguan people who went to the polls in November 1984 and elected the present government. If the attacks against Nicaragua are suspended, our military forces would have no one to shoot at — a de facto cease-fire would be in place. The contras could then lay down their arms and return to Nicaragua under the terms of the general amnesty that the government has offered to all of them, including their top political and military leaders. They can join existing political parties, or organize their own.

The question of civil liberties is of much importance to us. If the administration stops the unjust and illegal war it is waging against our people, then there would be no need for a state of national emergency in Nicaragua. You will recall that there was no such emergency from 1979 to March 1982. It was in March of that year that CIA agents blew up three bridges in the northern part of the country. Our response was the state of national emergency, which includes restriction of some civil liberties. When the U.S. stops the war, the state of national emergency will be lifted and all restrictions on civil liberties removed.

On March 9 Arturo Cruz, a leader of the political opposition, expressed understanding for your refusal to negotiate with the armed opposition, and said it would be acceptable if you opened talks with the internal political parties.

Again, why is this proposal, which seems manifestly fair to many people, not satisfactory to you?

We are in a constant dialogue with the internal political parties. They participate in the debates in the National Assembly and are deeply involved in the drafting of the new constitution. What we will never accept is direct or indirect negotiations with the U.S. mercenary contra army. Mr. Cruz, who personally admitted having accepted CIA money, is basically proposing a fig-leaf for negotiations with the contras, of which he is also a member.

What can you say to answer the Reagan administration charge that the Sandinistas will make no compromises of any kind unless they are under serious military pressure?

We welcome and support negotiations because of our commitment to peace. Nicaragua has participated actively in the Contadora process since it began in 1983 and, in 1984, announced its willingness to sign the peace agreement. It is the U.S. administration, not Nicaragua, that boasted of its success in blocking the signature of the September 1984 peace agreement, suspended the Manzanillo bilateral talks between the two countries and walked out of the World Court. You will recall that the spokesman for the foreign ministers of the Contadora countries, after meeting with Secretary Shultz in Washington, said that the greatest obstacle to their effort was the extreme and intransigent position of the U.S. administration.

Nicaragua, for its part, is making every effort to negotiate an accord that is acceptable to all sides. On May 15, President Ortega announced a comprehensive proposal to set limitations on acquisition of offensive weapons, prohibit international military exercises, regulate national maneuvers carried out by the armed forces of any Central American country, remove all foreign military advisers and prohibit foreign military bases in the region.

We believe that our initiative added greater impetus to Contadora and was pivotal to the positive developments observed at the June 6 meeting of foreign ministers in Panama. The communiqué issued at the conclusion of the meeting states that progress toward an agreement demands firm acceptance of the following fundamental commitments: 1) None of the Central American countries will allow its territory to be used to attack another country or to give logistical or military support to irregular or subversive groups; 2) no Central American country would join political or military alliances that threaten directly or indirectly the peace of the region by inserting it into the East-West conflict; and 3) the major powers suspend logistical or military support to irregular or subversive groups using force as an instrument to overthrow a government in the area.

Allow me to conclude by saying that an agreement among Central American countries can be effective only if the U.S. decides to set aside its aggressive interventionist policy toward Nicaragua. Unfortunately, the administration's intensifying campaign for more aid to the contras shows there is no change in U.S. policy. Obviously this does not bode well for peace because approval of any funds to the contras would be a major new blow to Contadora, precisely at a moment when careful handling of a delicate set of circumstances, including the June 7 revised Contadora peace accord, being studied by the Central American governments, has generated expectation that an agreement is close.

Land Of The Rising Sun May Be at Its Zenith

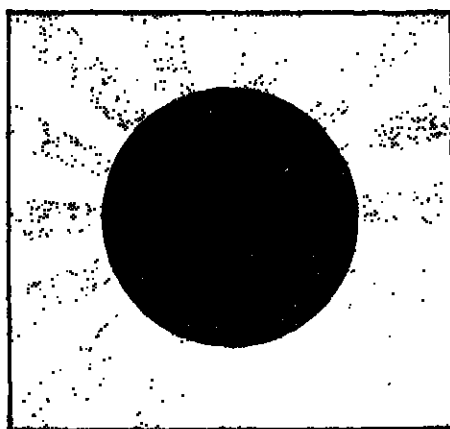
By Joel Kotkin and Yoriko Kishimoto

TODAY Japan stands uncontested as the superpower of the world economy. Its factories are the world's most efficient. Its corporations provide the models for a generation of managers from around the world. And, increasingly, Japan's bankers reign as the new lords of international finance.

Yet many Japanese believe the land of the rising sun has risen as far as it can. They fear that unless there are radical changes in the fundamental objectives and strategies pursued by the nation's industrial and government leaders, Japan may begin a long descent.

"No country can enjoy prosperity forever," notes Hiroshi Katoh, a former official with the Ministry of International Trade and Industry (MITI) and now a leading Japanese venture capitalist. "The whole system is breaking down. We just can't go out and get the growth we used to. The feeling is that Japan is in the beginnings of a decline."

This view is not merely a reaction to the appreciation of the yen — which, unlike the oil crisis of the 1970s, was a *shokku* (shock) caused by forces that Japan could have



influenced. Instead, today's problem is a natural and inevitable result of its selected and heretofore successful political, social and corporate systems. Japan's boggart-neighbor trade policies have earned it mega-dollars, but at the price of undercutting the economic growth and wearing out the patience of its prime customers.

"The key problem is that we don't want to destroy the basis of our past glory," notes Jiro Tokuyama, a prominent Japanese economist and dean of the Nomura School of Advanced Management. "We just can't keep selling products to the rest of the world so successfully. We have to start experiencing the sort of things — like off-shore production — that our competitors also face. We have to change ourselves dramatically."

"The idea of Japan as Number One is ludicrous. We don't have the human assets, resources or political strength to be more than, at best, a good Number Two behind the United States."

Among executives and intellectuals from Paris to Peking, the Japanese have replaced the Germans and even the "ugly" Americans in being viewed as selfish "economic animals." The United States is not the only trading partner gearing up to, as one Japanese economist put it, "punish us for our success." France and Italy have erected massive barriers to Japanese cars and consumer electronics.

But most important is the resentment spreading in Japan's backyard: East Asia. Even such strong exporters as Hong Kong are finding it impossible to make headway in the Japanese market.

Last year, for example, Japan sold Hong Kong 12 times as much as it bought. Hong Kong's garments are renowned for quality, but they have barely penetrated Japan. Hong Kong, for that matter, is the world's largest producer of toys. Yet, "You can't get anywhere with them. They won't even buy our toys," notes T. W. Wong, deputy director general of the Federation of Hong Kong Industries, one of the most pro-free-trade groups in Asia. "Their toy companies can be living on subsidies — but they won't let us in."

Given such resistance, South Korea and Taiwan, themselves facing tough protectionist legislation from the United States and Europe, are considering curbs on Tokyo's economic penetration. Even Malaysia Prime Minister Mahatir Mohamed, once markedly pro-Japanese, has announced that Asians are no longer willing to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water" for Japan.

Perhaps nowhere is this anti-Japanese resentment more pronounced than in China. Although China is the most promising market for Japan after the United States, Tokyo's traders have deeply alienated its billion potential customers. With control of 26 percent of China's foreign trade, the Japanese characteristically created a \$9 billion trade surplus in the first nine months of 1985. This drain on China's foreign reserves led to its recent massive cutbacks in imports.

But the larger problem, Chinese officials claim, is that, unlike American or European firms, Japanese companies are reluctant to share technology. "The goal seems to be to keep us backward and buying," notes Zeng Xiao Ming, manager/engineer at Peking's Chang Feng Industry Corp. "There isn't a lot of thought about mutual benefit."

No longer willing to be a receptacle for ever greater shipments of Japanese goods, China and other Asian nations are planning to go on the offensive against Tokyo. Even before the yen *shokku*, this competition caused major bankruptcies or restructuring among flagship Japanese industries, including steel, shipbuilding and electronic components. Particularly vulnerable are scores of Japanese firms that produce such low-tech exports as cutlery and dinnerware. They must justify yen-driven 30 percent price rises against hard-charging Koreans, Taiwanese and others working in currencies that are pegged to the dollar.

As a result of competition and protectionist backlashes, growth rises in Japan have fallen to 5 percent or less annually — comparable to the United States — from double-digit rates. Corporate operating profits have fallen as much as 25 percent since the salad days of the early 1970s. Last year, for instance, exports boosted total sales of Japan's top corporation by 2.7 percent but profits dropped by nearly 5 percent. Now, with the recent jump in the value of the yen, profits of Japan's 400 largest companies, according to a survey by the respected newspaper Nihon Keizai Shimbun, are

expected to drop an additional 30 percent. This reveals some profound weaknesses in the much-praised Japanese industrial system. In the past, Japanese firms, unlike their American and European counterparts, have been reluctant to buy components from, or place plants in, countries where they sell their products. Large Japanese firms still average only 4 percent of their total production overseas, compared to 15 to 20 percent for their American and European rivals.

Yet Japanese firms are being forced, for both political and economic reasons, to follow the off-shore patterns of their competitors. And as they do, job growth will slow. Most drastically affected will be non-giant companies which constitute 99 percent of all Japanese companies and employ 85 percent of all private-sector employees. Many supply components to fill the export orders of the major companies. They face far more difficulties than do the major companies moving their factories to Ohio or Singapore.

Japan's technology-oriented "venture businesses" are also in trouble. It was hoped they would provide the innovation necessary to overcome the inevitable *shokkus*. Yet highly regarded technology start-ups such as Nihon Electric and Japan Soft and Hard Corp. failed last year and another, Sella and Sord, was sold to Toshiba.

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30 to 40 percent on exports and can't stand the yen changes."

What really disturbs thoughtful Japanese today is not so much the pressure from overseas, but the effect that their system's rigidities are having on the essential *Yamato Damashii* — "Japanese spirit." This "Japanese spirit" is a powerful concept. It is the Japanese belief that, with the correct spirit, Japan can prevail against all odds. This was what was supposed to win World War II for Japan against its larger opponents' manufacturing capacities. This is why the question of the waning of *Yamato Damashii* is so potent to Japanese. It adds political impact to the decline many Japanese note in their nation's originality in the arts and literature. Some fear that this malaise soon will seep into the economic sphere, particularly among the young.

"It's frightening to watch young people work these days," said a 40-year-old middle-manager at Hitachi's massive factory in Kanagawa. "There is no initiative, no ambition, no hope. People are at work but seem only to show up. I fear we can no longer depend on the Japanese spirit. And without the Japanese spirit, where will we be?"

Actually, the pressures of demographics

"The Japanese executive's career, in Hobbes's phrase, seems 'nasty, brutish and short'."

and slow growth are coming together to harm three generations, each differently. For the oldest, the road to success in Japan is increasingly so clogged as to be impassable.

Japan is the world's most rapidly aging society; there are too many *sarariman* (salaried employees) between the ages of 40 and 60 bucking for too few promotions. In comparison to an American executive — who easily can switch jobs, start his own company or continue ascending the corporate ladder as late as age 60 — the Japanese executive's career, in Hobbes's phrase, seems "nasty, brutish and short." With retirement set at age 65 and early promotions slowed by the grinding of the seniority system, the Japanese executive has, at best, only 15 years to gain power and position.

"The 45-year-old executive tends to feel very threatened," notes Makiko Mizobuchi, executive director of Recruit, a Japanese employment agency. "They are the ones without experience with such new things as office automation, internationalization and information processing, yet they must compete with younger people who do. They know that time is running out. And by the age of 40, they know it's all over. They are stuck on a trail of suffering."

In perhaps the most pathetic cases, older workers simply are put out to pasture, given functionless jobs until they are forced out at retirement age. These *madogiwazoku*, or window-side managers, said to number well over 2 million in 1980, can be seen in many Japanese corporate offices, reading newspapers at their empty desks, stoically whiling away the hours.

And, although it's rarely discussed openly with foreigners, a growing number of older executives just lose themselves in drink.

Indeed, while Japanese overseas investment has soared, domestic investment in plant and equipment in 1985 is expected to grow a paltry 1 percent and decline markedly in electronics and chemicals. By contrast, Korea's investment is expected to increase by 42.5 percent. This comes at a time that, by some measurements, Japan's industrial output is now older than that of the United States. One government report even predicted that offshore production could cost Japan 600,000 jobs by the turn of the century.

Thus, to Japanese, the future looks more modest than that projected for them by their U.S. admirers. West Germany is a good model, believes Hiroshi Takeuchi of the Long-Term Credit Bank. It is a leading industrial power whose wealth is based on precision products such as luxury cars and machine tools. But no one expects it to dominate the world's technology or challenge the United States for industrial supremacy.

But perhaps more relevant is Great Britain, which in the first half of this century lived off its vast overseas holdings. Japan in the immediate future can also profit handsomely from its investment abroad — projected to be \$400 billion by 1990. But if its economy is increasingly dominated by financial services, that could subvert the very basis of Japan's industrial success.

Joel Kotkin covers Asia and the Pacific Basin for Inc. magazine. Yoriko Kishimoto, a native of Japan, is the managing partner of Japan Pacific Associates, a California business consulting firm. They are co-authors of the forthcoming "Pacific Rim Strategy."

promotion. It issued by Japan's Institute of Social Research, which in 1983 had 17 per cent of its graduates in the age of 64. By 1990, the age of people will reach only that

ness trading age that the great than producing. It is the zaido, a growing good, difficult to solve executives and engineers, there has — often to Japanese subsidiaries competition can corporations.

Take the case of engineer Hitachi. A 15-year veteran of Tokyo-based Hitachi, Gotoh fell into a conflict with superiors, the need to develop new software marketing plans for the rapidly expanding custom-chip market. Accustomed to such large-scale commodity businesses as standard memory chips, Hitachi's corporate bureaucracy could not adjust to the sophisticated technological and marketing challenges of the fast-moving and more highly customer-specific arena.

So the blunt 38-year-old Gotoh quit, and signed on with the Japanese affiliate of Silicon Valley chipmaker LSI Logic.

"They'll have to kill off everyone over 50 and make all the guys in their 40s *kacho*, (section chiefs) *bacho*, even vice-presidents," says Gotoh of his old employer. "I just fear it may be too late for them to change."

Perhaps most disturbing for the long run is the system's effect on its young. Many top Japanese managers worry about the new generation of college graduates — widely known as *shirake sedai*, "the reactionless generation." They are accused of lacking both the loyalty ethos of the over-40 generation and the creative drive of the baby boomers.

This passivity has its origins in the perceived near-impossibility of advancement in today's Japan. In 1970, 47 percent of Japanese between 20 and 24 believed life would get better, according to a government survey. Ten years later, only 33 percent felt that way. Over the same period, the percentage believing things would get worse jumped from 3 to 13 percent.

Japanese concern about their country's ability to adjust to the future can already be seen in the decision of firms from Sanyo to Mitsubishi to pull up stakes and locate new facilities in America and East Asia, while American firms from IBM to Compaq to Zenith have bolstered the U.S.-based manufacturing power.

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Bloom in the desert

It's hard to see how some themes, such as the linguistic parody of American and English and Irish English, for whose tone Joyce had an immaculate genius, could transpire into German; and sure enough, the Elijah Interruption is not "harsh as a cornflake" and there's no sign of "the banner of old glory," the stars and stripes, on the platform carrying him down from the flies.

Instead, Alfred Kirchner's production presents a silver lame-clad goosier, with trumpeting putti at each corner. The period of Kirchner and his designer Randi Bubut's Bloomsday is not 1904, but the inevitable, overdone Twenties. For Kirchner, Stephen Climax is a case of Mr Bloom Changes Trains. But to accuse Zender of failing to match Joyce, either in substance, or in extravagance of musical means, is beside the point. For

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Buck Mulligan) to have killed his mother by his refusal to kneel down and pray for her — a scene that Zender inserts into his nighttown, though Joyce actually presents Stephen's mother praying for him, not the other way round, and Stephen denies her with a Wagnerian gesture of the asphalant, and the Siegfriedian cry, "Nothing!"

I thought Stephen's (and Joyce's) mother was the Church, and that the purpose of it all is the conversion of art into religion, which is clearly the twentieth-century phenomenon. But Zender's opera ends with Bloom's recognition of Rudy ("reading from right to left inaudibly, smiling, kissing the page") followed by the call from the Syrian desert, "Jesus, lamb of God, have mercy on us."

What is really disappointing about Zender's opera, with its evocation of opposite extremes, the ascetic and the indulgent, the moderation, the mildness, the tastefulness (somewhat outdated) of its means. Both the music, in a purified, very approachable idiom, and the Kirchner stage production are sadly devoid of the extra-

By Tom Sutcliffe in Frankfurt

Zender is not trying to squeeze Bloom and Stephen into opera, any more than Joyce was merely updating Homer with added kinks (a sort of Homosexuality).

Zender's Stephen Climax is actually two operas in one. Like the rich patron in Strauss's Ariadne auf Naxos, Zender presents two operas simultaneously. With the Joycean material we are shown Simon Stylites on top of his column in the Syrian desert. (Ian Caley, singing Simeon, deserves a medal from the Holy Father and a plenary indulgence for standing on his tiny platform high above the stage for 2½ hours before the performance, where the audience are let into the auditorium, to after his end.)

The link between the stories is mother-love, that strong Papist theme. The Simon Stylites story concerns his refusal to allow his mother into his presence, because it's against his ascetic vow; she dies, enraged, but is resurrected and blessed. Stephen Daedalus of course is supposed (according to

giant gesture. Zender's score is largely slow-moving, the text delivered (not very audibly) in lapidary manner and at even, rhetorical pace. Peter Hirsch conducted neatly, with caution — as if walking on eggs.

When I say the two different subjects are put on stage at the same time, I mean literally. Gianni Colomba's set is two thirds nighttown and one third the Syrian desert, or more usually the nighttown brothel. Just as well, since the long brothel scene seems to go on forever.

In musical terms, the characterisation is not full-blooded. But Franz Mayer sings well alongside Ian Caley as Antonius, leader of the monks. Lyndon Terracini as Stephen makes as much use of his frank Australian charm as the role allows. Barry Mora as Lynch and Joshua Hecht as Bloom, Sandra Walker as Bella, and Nancy Shade as Cissy Caffrey (doubling with Zoe), all register Zender's rather economical view of their roles quite impressively.

Putting the finger on love

GIVEN the enthusiasm which greeted the release of Derek Jarman's cinematic tall-story based, so loosely, on the life of Caravaggio, it is a fine piece of coincidence that the National Gallery should now have purchased one of the last works by him to remain in private hands, the supremely puzzling *Boy Bitten by a Lizard*.

Painted in the middle of the 1590s, this is one of those half-lengths of provocative youths in vaguely classical guise with which Caravaggio made his early reputation. I have long been convinced that the entire series should be viewed as a set of allegorical self-portraits, of which this is the most unusual.

A rose tucked behind his ear, girlishly curly-haired, his tunic slipping off his shoulder, the boy in the picture is grinning madly, his amazing look of horror surely being based on a face pulled by the artist in a mirror. The reason for the grimace still hangs from the boy's middle finger, a lizard which has bitten him as he was feeling around among the cherries painted so convincingly on the table in front of him.

Not to make too fine a point of it, the picture seems to have been intended as a fierce warning about the dangers of earthly love. Why else would the lizard — a kind of reptilian vagina dentata — have been made to bite that particular finger?

Nothing in those early Caravaggio allegories was included accidentally. Picking cherries had the same slang meaning in Caravaggio's time as it does now. The jasmine in the brilliantly observed glass vase in front of the boy traditionally symbolised carnal love, and was the attribute of the prostitute in the female portrait by Caravaggio that was destroyed in the bombing of Berlin during the war.

What Caravaggio has done here so dramatically is to give a real psychological edge to this implicit moralising. The expression on the boy's face, the tense lighting, and above all the intense realism with which all the details have been observed take the allegory out of the realm of the iconography book and thrust it firmly into real life, making the lesson so much harder for his Baroque audiences to ignore.

For a comparison we need look no further than the painting of Lucas Cranach of Venus and Cupid also in the gallery. The message is the same: Poor Cupid is being stung by bees for putting his hand into a honey pot. Venus looks on blankly. But because it is all taking place so far away, in the world of the Gods, the message has none of the immediacy of Caravaggio's treatment.

• Caravaggio's *Boy Bitten by a Lizard*, on show in Room 39 at the National Gallery.

The falsity of foppery

Nicholas de Jongh at Chichester

Scene: A salubrious chocolate house in Drury Lane. Mr Gush, a theatrical scribbler for the broadsheets, extravagantly attired in the fashions of the moment sits amidst his beaux and cronies. Enter, Spleen, a Critic of the drama, morose.

Spleen: Ah, my dear Gush, all aquiver to drench the prints with extravagances for Mr Vanbrugh's little comedy, I hazard. Gush: Alas, sir, to tell the truth, I languish. I lack my habitual first night ecstasies. I fear I find young Mr Matthew Francis's revival abominable sombre and pantomimic. It leaves me as downcast as the sickliest trout in Highgate Ponds.

Spleen: Heavens, has it come to this. Do I discover you, Mr Gush, not even a 'simpering over the ladies' frocks, not fired by the gaudiness of Lord Foppington's rainbow raiments or even his love spot? Gush: P'as. You rail, Mr Spleen. But by all that's sacred, this release has as much truth as a judge's mistress. Truly the very first glimpse of the stage's quaint constructions shot me full of doubts and vapours. All hardware and brutal.

Spleen: By Sir Peter you're bullees this morning, dear Gush. 'Tis so. Miss Di Seymour's designing artifice were vile misplacements. Tell me, sir, what meant her mobile scaffolding, such broken pillars, such wheelaround steps, and egad, a thorough going bareness upon the boards? A play upon Mr Vanbrugh's architectural edifices? I found myself hard pressed to tell the town from the country proportions. Gush: 'Tis so. Spleen, give me the bygone glitter that suits the period. I'm all for gaiety. Yet I fancy Mr Francis was set upon one of your dry, modern academe notions, a gallimaufry of metaphor-all bareboning society's gentlemen with their torrents of naughty love to dispose of, their hankering after fortune and the

silly vanities, the buying of high station. Spleen: Is it possible that one such as you should scorn the glamour of cheap costumes — I fancy Miss Kate Buffery's Amanda was gowned as the 1920s epitome and Mr Richard Brier's Lord Foppington in his hairnet and striped like sweetshop candies surely wafted you heavenwards. And as for young Mr Fashion's servant, black trousered as one of yesterday's young punks — or Mr Ronnie Stevens, dressed up as a sodomitical clown.

Gush: Sir, I cannot take these minglings of periods. They are mere cosmetics to decorate the body comic and mask the lack of thought.

Spleen: Frivolities, mere flipperies. I own that I love gravity myself. But Mr Francis has turned the foibles of Mr Vanbrugh's people gross. They want reality or satire's shafts and such romancing beyond the beds of marriage should strike the audience bright. Gush: I think, Mr Gush, you forget Miss Paola Dionisotti's gorgeous Berintha. What snake-like art! What wily, double headed charnel!

Spleen: Indeed she shines, while Miss Buffery's Amanda is grided in such grave gloominess. Yet I hear my dear Gush, the play's main business is too much the pantomime. I term Mr Brier's Foppington as little Lord Ludicrous. So much work to such little effect. Such a roll call of senile quaverings, such bowings, such scrappings not one flicker of Sinden, of the Lord's true self-adoring vanities, not a glimpse of the ardent punter after title and high society.

Gush: As distant from life as the chocolate house from the Fox hospital, Mr Spleen. And a pox too upon Mr John Session's Fortune who has taken the same road to excess — not so much a rake with his grand wig, methinks, as a broad spade, a ranting boy without wits. Come, dear Spleen, let's write and put our hearts in it.

By Waldemar Januszczak



Caravaggio's *Boy Bitten by a Lizard*

Soviet Rambo just as depressing

By Martin Walker in Moscow

AT THE video salon in the Arbat pedestrian precinct in central Moscow, the latest hot property is Russia's own Rambo movie. Under the title "Lonely Journey" you get the Soviet Union's own version of the SAS, the Spetsnaz naval commandos, wiping out hordes of wicked Americans and saving the world in the process.

A film classic it is not, but the locations are tropically wonderful, the camera work fine, the girls look terrific in bikinis and the special effects are well up to Hollywood standards. The jugulars really spout blood as the throwing knives sink in, and the last few moments of the flight of the anti-air missile and the subsequent explosion are lavishly done.

The plot is fairly simple, as these things go. The CIA is planning to blow up a luxury cruise liner and blame it on the Russians. Behind the CIA is a group of golf-loving fat cats who represent the military-industrial complex. They want a new superpower crisis that will be good for profits.

In a magnificently loushe tropical night club we meet Hessel, the maddest man in the CIA, whose drinking bouts are interspersed with flashbacks to atrocities in Vietnam. Armed with all the latest technology, Hessel arranges the missile strike on the cruise ship. But something goes wrong. The missile hits instead a private sailing yacht, being sailed happily round the world by a slightly hippy young American couple. They are blown into the water, but quickly set themselves on a desert island with all the usual accoutrements of castaways, luxury tents, short-wave radios, Kalashnikov rifles — that sort of thing.

The frustrated Hessel does not want any surviving witnesses to his schemes, and while the CIA officially disavows him, Hessel sets up an assassination team against the American castaways, who fly in on hang-gliders to ambush the tent.

But meantime, the good guys have woken up. On the sunny deck of a Soviet naval ship, a group of marine Spetsnaz are going through their friendly unarmed combat practice, and talking of old folks at home and the fun of hunting mushrooms in the forests.

The ship's captain has monitored the flight of the missile, learned of the CIA's plan, and assigns the having wiped out the CIA assassins, the Russians and our hippy hero go after Hessel. They grenade and shoot and punch their way into the control room, just as Hessel's crazed finger is poised over the button.

And, inevitably, the Spetsnaz leader dies at the moment of triumph, shot in the back by the cowardly villain.

What makes "Lonely Journey" stand out from the usual Soviet thriller movie is the lavishness of its budget, spent on the foreign locations and the expensive sets — all doomed to be blown up. But the Soviet movie-goer — and the average Soviet citizen goes to the cinema 14 times a year — gets the same kind of regular diet of these "patriotic" films that we do.

There was "Flight 222" set in an Aeroflot jet at New York airport where the Americans try in vain to persuade a loyal Soviet woman to stay in the West with her defected husband.

There is something international about these stereotyped images we keep churning out about each other. Something depressing about the way that our Rambo and their Spetsnaz depend upon the same hardware of machine pistol and grenade. Patriotic violence is as American as apple pie, as Russian as borsch, or as British as the Falkland Islands.

But there was one interesting thing about the video of "Lonely Journey" that we hired overnight from the Arbat Salon for a rouble. The video tape itself was made in Japan.

Back in his submarine command post, Hessel thinks this is the right time to start world war three. But

crucial moments are really apt. But the irony of Cavaradosi's execution — that bitter moment of great theatre — is brilliantly achieved. He sits astride a chair backwards facing the audience, smiling at Tosca, who is watching the scene from a structure on the right of the proscenium. The squad shoots him in the back, and his head falls forward over the back of the chair. He laughs.

Miller has seldom worked with such a star line-up. All of them sing gloriously but they are a bit too pushed around by Mehta's conducting. Mehta is a terrific Puccini conductor, and presents the structure of the score perfectly, not afraid to make significant breaks from section to section in place of the more usual busy drive and adopt the fluent rubato that the style requires. But Marton's Visi d'Arte seemed constrained by his direction.

Most impressively, under the circumstances, Miller obtained thrillingly acted interpretations from his stars. Carroll as Scarpia had a touch of James Mason about him, dabbling his sweat with a handkerchief, crawling to Tosca across the stage on his knees, grabbing her round the legs, toying with the neckline of her dress, his face revealing every change of fortune, and especially the threat from Marengo, marvellously. Giacomini had a wonderfully relaxed manner as Mario in suede shoes, and brown cord jacket.

Above all, Marton, star of the show, seemed totally involved in the role, weeping real tears, as fascinating as Callas if much more vulnerable. Looking like Ingrid Bergman with a different costume for each act, she communicated genuine terror and affection in a way I would never have expected.

There will be time enough at the Coliseum for Miller to decide whether his solutions to the

The bee-keepers

MY COTONEASTERS

bloom. It is a season to which I look forward because for a few weeks I have such good company while I sit at my window, writing. The tiny, insignificant, rose-pink flowers, whose four petals never seem to open properly, are evidently so replete with nectar that no bees within a mile or so can resist them.

So they gather, the bees, in a cheerful, busy congregation, singing various pitches of bass and tenor as they work from dawn to dusk. The nearest bush is only a yard from my chair, and sometimes I find myself humming in unison with them.

But I should be writing in the past tense. That is the scene as it has been ever since I have lived in this house — until this year. Now we have no bees, not the true honey or hive bees. We have the bumble-bees, and through watching them through the years I have learned to identify most of them. There are the buff-tailed bumble-bee, the small earth bumble-bee,

any, is accounted for by an EEC levy, which he regards as unwelcome. British bee-keepers never have an easy course. Our climate was not designed for bees. Old-time bee-keepers used to reckon on having a good honey harvest in, on average, about one year in five. But now, of course, they cannot raise their prices for honey in the bad years because they are always competing with cheap imports from countries with much more reliable honey flows.

Much of the honey on supermarket shelves is blended honey, from more than one country. My informant tells me that China, with which the EEC is eager to encourage trade, is now a major source of honey supply. A small tariff imposed on imported honey is, he says, negligible. Bee-keepers, he insists, don't ask for subsidies or protection, but they do want to buy their raw materials at true world prices. Which seems fair enough.

The trouble is, of course, that bee-keepers and honey production comprise such a minor industry that politicians think they can ignore them. Even in the farming world their voice is not very powerful. In the Middle Ages bees were valued as much for their wax (for making wax candles for religious purposes) as for their honey. In more recent times commercial bee-keepers have derived a godsend slice of their income from moving their hives around to fruit farms and farmers with fields of white clover, for pollination purposes. No bees mean no fruit and no clover seed.

It seems to have escaped attention that we now have a relatively new crop of rapidly increasing importance which relies on bees. It is oilseed rape, which now paints vast rectangular blocks of the countryside golden yellow in May and early June. No bees, no rape seed. When that realization sinks in, bee-keepers will have gained some powerful allies.

Enquiries to and particulars from the Admissions Office, Moray House College of Education, Holyrood Road, Edinburgh EH8 8AQ.

By Ralph Whitlock

the rarer red-tailed bumble-bee, the garden-bee and several others who have only official, zoological names. They seem to be present in normal numbers, but where are the hives?

The local bee-keepers can supply the answer, and that is about all they are likely to be able to supply this summer. For they estimate that the bee mortality rate over the past winter has been at least 40 per cent, and some of them have lost their entire stocks.

As with most natural disasters, the reasons are complex. The chilly, wet weather that characterized last summer was initially responsible, for the bees began the winter weakened and with inadequate reserves of honey. They were in poor condition to cope with the Arctic winds and bitter temperatures that prevailed all through February. Any chance the stocks may have stood of recovering was destroyed by the cold, tardy spring, which resulted in almost all spring flowers appearing at least three weeks later than usual.

Under this heap of adverse circumstances the British Beekeepers' Association wrote to both the Ministry of Agriculture and the EEC to enquire about the possibility of doing a little quarrying in the EEC sugar mountain. They did so, in fact, in the depth of winter, while there was still hope for some of the harassed stocks.

The surplus sugar, piled up in warehouses, had reached such proportions that the EEC has been spending something over £500 million a year in subsidising its sale, cheap, to countries outside the Common Market.

May we please have some of the sugar, to help keep our bees alive, at the same subsidised price? The Association asked. They worked out that they needed a minimum of £1,325,000, or around £44 each for Britain's 30,000 beekeepers. They seemed a modest and reasonable request.

Most impressively, under the circumstances, Miller obtained thrillingly acted interpretations from his stars. Carroll as Scarpia had a touch of James Mason about him, dabbling his sweat with a handkerchief, crawling to Tosca across the stage on his knees, grabbing her round the legs, toying with the neckline of her dress, his face revealing every change of fortune, and especially the threat from Marengo, marvellously. Giacomini had a wonderfully relaxed manner as Mario in suede shoes, and brown cord jacket.

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aids

by Ed

END PAPER, by An-
Breytenbach, £14.95
ROOF, Southern
Fendley
thology, by A.
turgillan, £5.50

IN one side, the author, on the other, they're trying to force a double, the author's head, Undoubtedly closed, it's his own objection for the jacket of a book which the poet, painter and novelist who says he's no longer an African — technically, anyway, he's a naturalised Frenchman — takes the most enormous care to quarrel with himself about every thought that occurs to him.

Most of these thoughts are about South Africa, which he calls the largest concentration camp over known to mankind, and in the main this is a collection of pieces and papers written for conferences and journals between 1967 and last year.

He is restless about them, a poet uneasy about being polemical: he gives them titles that might be those of poems (Languages as the Random Thoughts of Camels, Keep Clear of the Mad). He says they are repetitive, as they are. He points out that "if you forget the high-flying phrases, which hide the real issues... we are down to kitchen gossip." He wonders if that can interest outsiders. ("It ought to, you know, Apartheid is an export product.")

He looks at the possibility that he has set himself up as a minor prophet, or that what drives him is that he "can't stand not being Black." He detects the noise of the wheels of a "Breytenbach bandwagon." Few writers were ever more intent on challenging any reader tempted to admire him.

Perhaps a reviewer should be no less discontented. But I finished the book feeling tremendous gratitude. End Papers does two things: it cries out, with various kinds of eloquence, against the

Elusive GKC

G. K. CHESTERTON: A biography, by Michael Ffinch (Weidenfeld, £16).

MANY biographers fall into one of two camps. They begin by loving their subject and grow increasingly exasperated as the Life (and their labour) goes on, beginning with affection, they fall deeper and deeper in love.

In his G. K. Chesterton, Michael Ffinch certainly belongs to the latter group, and with a subject of such universally affirmed geniality and goodness it must be difficult to do otherwise. Chesterton still awaits the salty, though respectful, chronicler who can make him come alive. Not that Mr Ffinch pulls punches: he deals with his subject's anti-Semitism at length, and produces some unpleasant quotations.

His method is workmanlike. He takes Chesterton's life step by step, and as that life consisted mostly of writing he describes each book as it comes and quotes generously. This is useful because it could help a reader to learn which of Chesterton's works he might like to read.

But Mr Ffinch does one odd

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Ratham for boys

By Vic Marks

HIGH, WIDE AND HANDSOME. The story of a very special year, by Frank Keating (Collins Willow, £10.95).

THE GUARDIAN has developed a sound tradition of employing writers sympathetic to the cricketers' lot. John Arlott, as President of the Cricketers' Association, has often demonstrated his concern and compassion at our union as well as in print. And last winter Matthew Engel was less hysterical than most during the Caribbean campaign (though I must voice a reservation here since he once defined the English winter as a time "when, somewhere in the sun-blessed old empire, someone is hitting Vic Marks for six"). Having read *High, Wide and Handsome*, a recollection of Ian Botham's six-hitting jamboree of 1985, I can now add Frank Keating's name to the list. But it emerges from the book that I'm not the only one who approves of the Guardian's endorsement. For we learn the startling fact that there are some cricketers whom Ian admires greatly and his list "always starts with John Arlott."

This is the more surprising since I've rarely spotted Ian marching into the dressing room with a Guardian tucked under his arm. He usually prefers to see what he's written in the Sun. However, I'm certain that the jottings of Messrs Engel, Selvey and Keating would find him nodding agreement rather more vigorously than those on the editorial pages.

Frank Keating travelled with Ian on the traumatic West Indies tour of 1980-1 and witnessed his attempts as captain to overcome the devastation caused by Ken Barrington's death, the Jackman affair, not to mention Marshall, Holding, Garner, and Roberts. There he saw Ian stretched to his limits; sometimes they occupied neighbouring bar stools into the early hours to try to make sense of it all.

Keating recognises that sportsmen are men not machines: they are sensitive, vulnerable, and flawed: that's probably why he likes them. Not that he is anxious to concentrate on Botham's flaws. Plenty of other journalists have done that, though he does acknowledge that he can appear "boorish, aggravating, aggressive, mulishly stubborn, and very short-fused." Many friends have charged him thus. By the same token they have never once hesitated to marvel at his loyalty, generosity, courage, or sportsmanship. All true. Ian has never claimed to be an angel, but

By P. J. Kavanagh

thing. He ends a whole section — the placing could not be more dramatic — with a description of the non-success of Chesterton's marriage-night, drawn from a source that all recent biographers regard as questionable and one (Dudley Barker) thinks demonstrably false.

Mrs Cecil Chesterton, in 1941, described how "the woman he worshipped shrank from his touch and screamed when he embraced her." Lurid stuff. Mrs Cecil did not care much for Mrs G. K. She goes on to suggest that her brother-in-law's marriage was always like that, which is unlikely because, years later, when no longer for children came, Frances Chesterton underwent an unsuccessful operation hoping to make this possible.

Whatever their private difficulties, Frances, blamed by many for dragging her husband from Fleet Street to decorous Beaconsfield, should be praised for giving him an opportunity to retire inside his mind. There is a tale, new to me, of his absent-mindedness. He splashed so much in his bath that the housemaid always hovered, to mop up after him. One morning she heard him get out of the bath and then a huge splash as he re-entered it. "Damn it," she heard him say, "I've been here before."

That is the story of a man composing in his head the sentences he is about to go downstairs and write. That is the only way he could have written so much and so quickly.



Ian Botham — "awesome power of his hitting"

his sheer zest for life demands affection.

One of his attractions is that he obviously needs company and friendship whether it be Australian Test captain Alan Border, Elton John or down-to-earth country keeper Trevor Gard — "It wouldn't be the same if Trevor wasn't next to me, cup of tea steaming, his trusty old pipe following smoke as he churns over the phrasing of his latest and usually useless words of wisdom."

One of the difficulties of writing a book about Botham is that it's so quickly out of date, but never mind: there will be three more by the end of the year. No such problem with the likes of Dennis Amies: you just add another 1,800 runs to his career aggregate while the printers are at work.

However, Botham's life moves more swiftly. For instance Tim Hudson (an unlikely charmer, way out and not in, a "one-off larkey hedonist" and "a family friend as well as an agent and manager") has disappeared from the scene, and instead of hurtling in at Gavaskar these days, Ian is probably bowling at his eight-year-old Liam — a world of difference even if these two adversaries are the same height.

Also Ian's assessment of the Ashes winning side — "This lot make up the best English side I've

ever played with" — no longer tallies with current Fleet Street opinion. I'm not even sure if PBH is that confident.

Nonetheless *High, Wide and Handsome* has a lasting worth as a celebration of Botham, the Boys' Own hero on the cricket field. It's about time someone concentrated on that aspect of his life. The book is liberally sprinkled with assessments from fellow cricketers from Richard Hadlee to last year's schoolboy debutant Jonathan Atkinson. All are fulsome in their praise of the man and the awesome power of his hitting.

In between, Frank Keating has lovingly and entertainingly filled in the details to produce a record "for any great grandchild to digest." He places Botham as the cricketing colossus of his age, just as Grace and Bradman were in theirs and few of us can argue with that.

In the 21st century when we're grumpily bemoaning England's middle order we'll be able to take refuge in Keating's tribute and the humiliation of the Australians. However, I confess that the Somerset sections of the book left me rather confused, for as Ian strides out at Taunton in 1985 to smash another century against Marshall or Lever I keep expecting Somerset to win, but we never do.

Escape artist

By Norman Shrapnel

THE BEST OF DEAR BILL, by Richard Ingrams and John Wells (Deutsch/Pravda Eye, £7.95).

NUMBER TEN is never safe from liquid invasion. Once a canal ran through it; now it's a wet fairway to the 19th Hole, with any number of minor escape-channels contrived by the Prime Minister's consort to reach his numerous watering-places.

Such, at least, is the scenario presented by Ingrams and Wells in *The Best of Dear Bill*, in which the collected Donleith Thatcher letters gurgle from their source in Private Eye like a burn diligently seeking its distillery.

Does the thing work in concentrate form? I expected the reiteration of a single joke to grow as wearisome as a saloon-bar mono-

logue, but the necessary mesmerism surprisingly takes hold.

The Thatcher story acquires the heroic stamp of an escape saga. He is in a prison camp — has been for years, just how many years comes as a shock to the reader, arousing a touch of Hesse-like sympathy. Chained to Superwoman he is a kind of Super-victim. With more experience than any of us of the "long years under the Iron Heel".

The last major chance of escape was in 1963, but the Conservative election triumph was disaster for poor Donleith, duly sentenced to an extra five years. For this he can't forgive Michael Foot and must now, with determined hopefulness, pin his trust on Kinnock or Steel. The detail, as the long-term prisoner makes repeated efforts to break out of his personal Colditz, is

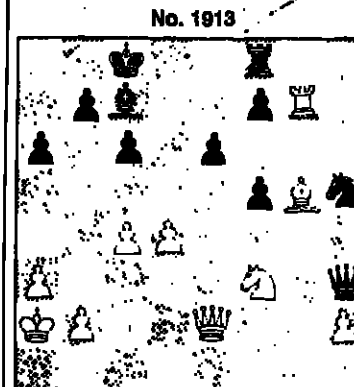
often hilarious. Not through the bars but to the bars is the best he can achieve. Well, it's something.

The idiom, astonishingly well integrated for a fork-tongued exercise such as this, is brilliantly concocted from what seems to be a mixed jargon of army, clubhouse and the more backward sort of public school, together with such corrective therapy as may be provided by "six of the best from the Bona".

It has appropriated a dialect, suggesting Wodehouse without the innocence. Unbroken by inhibition it is a style that can lurch from the funny to the nasty in mid-sentence. Three-letter words, abousses, wops and wogs and pips and yobs. Few will be complaining. Clever licence, or a touch of the new, virulent British disease, ingraining snobbery? Anyway, who's talking

Chess

By Lgoriard Barden



Em. Lesker v. Nimzowitsch, St. Petersburg 1914. Lesker, world champion for 27 years, was renowned for his competitive defence in difficult positions. Here as White (to play) he was a pawn down with his rook threatened. Should he continue with (a) 1 R-R7, (b) 1 B-K7 or (c) a different move?

Solution No. 1912

While K at QN6, R at K54, B at K4, Black K at Q2, P at K7 and K8. Can White win?
1 B-B5 ch! K-Q1 2 R-Q4 ch K-K2 3 R-K4 ch K-Q1 4 B-Q7! (not 4 R-P? P-Q 5 R-Q stalemate) P-Q (K8 5 R-P) 5 B-N5 and 6 R-K8 mate. Not 1 B-B6 ch? K-Q3! 2 R-Q4 ch K-K4 3 R-K4 ch K-Q3 4 R-P P-Q 5 R-Q stalemate.

ANATOLY KARPOV's claims as the greatest chess tournament player of his or any generation were tested once more last month by his clear-cut victory at the category 16 (26/27) Bugojno double-round event in Yugoslavia. Karpov scored 8½/14 followed by Lubjovlev and Sokolov 7½, Portisch and Spassky 7, Miles and Yusupov 6½, Timman 5½. The world champion lost early on to Sokolov but later won four games. Tony Miles, well placed at half-way, faded.

Both Karpov and Kasparov are thus demonstrably in peak form for this month's world title match which starts at the Park Lane Hotel, London, on July 28, with play each Monday, Wednesday and Friday. Front row (£20) and middle row (£10) seats are bookable in advance from American Express, 1920 Brompton Street, London SW1 (01-837 8800), who also offer package tours for overseas visitors. Rear seats at £3 will be available only on the day of play at the venue.

The Bugojno organisers set out to create the strongest tournament ever and judged on FIDE ratings alone may

well have done so. But ratings aren't everything: the legendary Dutch AVRO tournament of 1938, also an eight-man double-round, averaged about 2605. Yet there were only 18 decisive games. In Yugoslavia as against 24 in Holland: Portisch, Sokolov and the lazy Spassky managed between them 38/42 draws. With its imbalance of Russians and East Europeans, Bugojno paled out in the second half (75 per cent draws) once Karpov had a clear lead. AVRO is still remembered for its personalities and its incidents: Fina's start of 5½/6, Botvinnik's brilliancy against Capablanca, Alekhine's walkout on Capa's 50th birthday party, Reshevsky's time scrambles, victory for the modest young Keles, in that it assesses Bugojno 1986, for all its FIDE points, as matching the status of that charismatic Dutch event.

Anatoly Karpov (USSR) — Boris Spassky (France) Ruy Lopez (Bugojno 1986)

1 P-K4 P-K4 2 N-K3 N-QB3 3 B-N5 P-KN3 4 P-B3 P-QR3 5 B-R4 P-Q3 6 P-B4 P-K4 7 P-Q3 P-B2 8 R-K1 KN-K2 9 B-K3 Q-Q 10 QN-Q2 Q-K1

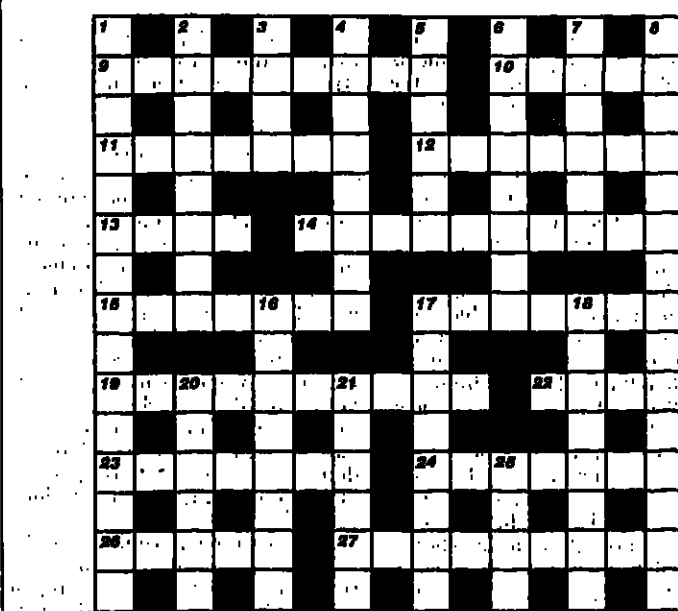
Smyslov made this move respectable at grandmaster level, and Spassky has adopted it occasionally too. Here, however, it quickly transposes into the more orthodox Steinitz Defence Deferred.

Book is P-R3 and K-R2, strengthening the defences. Spassky does this anyway, a few moves later, and his N-QP threat is easily stopped.

11 B-N3 P-N3 12 P-KP P-KP 13 B-B4 K-R1 14 Q-B1 B-N5 15 N-B5 P-R3 16 P-KR2 P-Q2 17 N-B3 K-R2 18 P-QR4 P-B4

White has two pawns for the exchange with the BK open, so conceding a third pawn is hopeless. He had to try Q-R5! 27 R-K8 K-R1. 27 Q-P Q-R1 28 R-Q1 R-B3 29 K-R2 P-R4 30 R-Q4 R1-K1 31 R-Q7 R-QB3 32 Q-K5 Q-B3 33 Q-Q5 R-B4 34 Q-K4 Resigns.

Both Q-B4 35 Q-K7 or R-B4 35 B-B2 put the BK in a mating net.



BUNTHORNE

- ACROSS
8. Graupel welcomes one: and about time! (9)
10. Weather metrical address from Gloriana (6)
11. Arrive with a companion; the first woman? (7)
12. Judges' collocation (4)
13. Nymphal backchat (4)
14. Provisional soldier (10)
15. Form born after a month ago (7)
- DOWN
17. Drawn out of banks in Paris (7)
18. Controller running, a temperance (10)
19. Archduke involved in historicity (4)
20. Casual worker has time to paint (7)
21. Not thinking ahead (7)
22. Stick Bombay ducks? (5)
23. Challenger's aim: Newfoundland? (4, 5)

Bridge

By Rixl Markus*

AN interesting feature of the Denmark versus Israel match in the Philip Morris Europa Cup Final this year was that there were three consecutive boards near the start of the match on which 6D could be made. This was Board 2, dealt by East with North-South vulnerable.

WEST
♠ A Q
♥ A K 3
♦ 10 9 7 6 2
♣ 5

EAST
♠ 2
♥ 8 4 2
♦ A 4 3
♣ A K J 9 7 5

When Denmark held the North-South cards, the bidding was as follows:

East South West North
NB 18 3C(1) Dble(2)
NB 3D(3) NB 6D
NB NB NB

(1) A weak jump overall. Such bids always seem suicidal to me: for all West knows, he might lose 1,100 when the opponents have no slam.
(2) Negative, showing good values.
(3) South was rather stuck for a bid, for he did not fancy reidding his feeble spade suit.

West led a trump against 6D, and declarer won in the closed hand and played a spade to the ace. When the jack appeared from West, South drew trumps ending in dummy and led the nine of spades. East could not afford to win this trick without making twelve tricks very easy to come by, so the nine of spades was allowed to hold. Declarer now turned his attention to the heart suit, and he was able to cash four tricks in the suit when the jack appeared in three rounds. This left the following position:

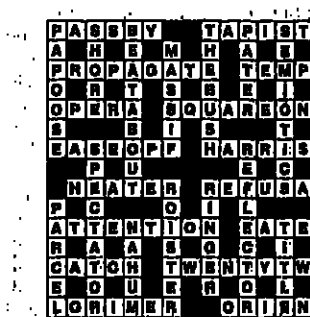
NORTH
♠ —
♥ 10
♦ A 6 4
♣ —

EAST
♠ K 8 7
♥ —
♦ —
♣ 5

SOUTH
♠ Q
♥ —
♦ —
♣ Q 10 3

DOWN

1. 8. Drunk? So how would the ale hit you, mate? Lord! Keep your counsel (3, 3, 3, 2, 4, 2, 4, 1, 6, 2)
2. 21, 5, 17 down. George's plea, failing was: "Hi-hi! Water isn't held. Dam it all!" (4, 4, 5, 1, 4, 2, 4, 4)
3. Man? I'll say! (4)
4. Time to call 4, 12! (8)
5. See 2.
6. Like JFK, this citizen might be on both sides in about-turn (8)
7. Th-hp-dog thoundth like 26 (8)
8. See 1.
16. Man in the street might use gin without a stiffener (3, 5)
17. See 2.
18. Bloody nearly unique (4, 4)
20. Aversion of English born with German yen (8)
21. See 2.
25. Springs to mind like Alice's place (4)



West's revealing bidding made it easy for South to read the card position correctly: he played a small club to the ten and jack, and West was forced to concede the contract by returning a club from the king at trick 11.

At the other table, the Israeli North-South pair reached 6D played by North, and declarer went three down after an original club lead by East.

On Board 3 of the match, the East-West cards were as follows:

WEST
♠ A Q
♥ A K 3
♦ 10 9 7 6 2
♣ 5

EAST
♠ 2
♥ 8 4 2
♦ A 4 3
♣ A K J 9 7 5

Both East-West pairs in the match reached 6D, which made when the adverse trumps broke 2-2. As on the previous board, however, 6NT would have been a better contract. In that it gives the declarer two chances: he can duck a diamond before cashing the ace, intending to fall back on the club finesse if the diamonds fail to break. Finally, this was Board 4, dealt by West at game all.

NORTH
♠ A K 5 4
♥ A Q J
♦ Q 7 6 3
♣ 6 2

EAST
♠ Q J 10 8 6 2
♥ 10 8 3
♦ A
♣ 9 4 3

A COUNTRY DIARY

THE LAKE DISTRICT: From the top of Place Fell, when sunshine and chasing cloud shadows sculpt the Helvellyn ridges, the western view can be quite outstanding — even for Lakeland. The fell is the only height I can recall from which you get a close picture of parallel valleys climbing to high mountains, the dales scooped into saucer-like hollows below circling ridges. All these side-valleys, from Dove Dale to Gowanbarrow, are seen across the curving reaches of Ullswater with the houses, farms and hotels of Patterdale and Glenridding looking like toys 2,000 feet below.

The other day, from the summit, you could watch cars going through the villages, the lake "steamer" pulling into the pier and white sails of yachts dotted across the water like drowsy butterflies. Tiny handkerchiefs of snow — the last of the long winter — still clung to the high east faces of

Lower Man and Nethermost Pike. By making a best-line from the toe of Ullswater — barely half the distance of the usual Burnale House route but far steeper — the summit was reached, without stopping, in one hour. The four miles of beautiful shore-path from near Sandwick to Patterdale can also be covered, if necessary, in the hour so that the complete round, including the traverse of the Place Fell skyline and the descent by the waterfalls of Scalehow Beck, can even be achieved by active septuagenarians within an afternoon or summer evening.

Sometimes, high up on Place Fell I have come upon herds of red deer crossing the ridge from their sanctuary in Marindale — but not on this evening. They say in Patterdale that when the deer appear over the shoulder of the fell bad weather is on the way.

A. Harry Griffin

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